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THE

# NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE.

BY

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# PREFACE.

THE present work is a contribution to a department of inquiry which may be called Political Ethnology. Perhaps, it is something more than this. Perhaps it is the first regular treatise of the kind. At any rate the writer knows of no work, with any pretensions to a systematic character, on the same subject in the English language. If he be right in this he may safely say that there is none in any other; by which he means that there is none with any approach to trustworthiness. This is because the condition of the numerous questions of nationality at the present moment is such that no one but an Englishman (or, perhaps, a Russian) can treat them in the only spirit which can give value to his treatise; a spirit of impartiality. In every other country the questions dealt with are questions of personal or national interest; questions which are going-on during the discussion; questions in which the feelings warp the judgment; questions in which every man is an advocate and no man a judge.

It is possible that the preface of a work may not be the best place for laying down such an assertion as this; inasmuch as it ought to be proved rather than asserted. The contents, however, of the present volumes furnish ample evidence to its truth. Every country on the Continent of Europe has a question now pending; in which, either as a principal, or an accomplice, its occupants have an interest.

On the other hand, there are events of which an Englishman is *not* the best narrator. In the feelings with which many questions of nationality are carried-on he participates but coldly. He

can look at the question as a judge: but the spirit which animates the litigants he knows only as a spirit to be condemned or approved. For the mixture of good and bad which it contains he finds, in his own breast, no explanation, except that which is supplied as a cold generalization from his knowledge of human nature in the abstract.

In many of the facts which a work like the present lays before him an Englishman sees much that is foreign to his own experience. He has, however, only to remember that his own experience is mainly based upon his feelings as an Englishman and upon his practical knowledge of the working of his own institutions. In addition to this he has also to remember that all the world is not English.

The present work, however, is a general one; a general one, and, as far as it goes, a systematic one. For this reason I submit that, however much the feeling of indifference with which many questions of vital importance to the actors themselves may subtract from its value as a picture or as a piece of advocacy, the fact of its being written in a spirit which no national interests bias is an important characteristic.

The term *nationality* I have taken as I find it. It is a word which is better defined at the end of the details upon which its signification is founded than at the beginning of them. Here, it means anything exceptional to the predominating feeling and constituent elements in certain political aggregates.

As for its full import; its nature; its strength as a feeling compared with other motives; the generalization of its ingredients—the philosophy of the thing, so to say—it will be time enough to go into this when the details of the whole earth have been made familiar to us. The present work deals with Europe only.

Europe, however, means much. Of Russia and Turkey the dominion is continuous; extending from Russia, through Siberia, to America, and from Constantinople, through Asia Minor and Syria, into Africa. This line is followed out. Of the isolated and sporadic elements which constitute the dominions of England and France nothing is said.

Of the political ethnology of Great Britain itself little is said. I write *to* Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Manx-

men, and Channel Islanders—not *about* them. They are supposed to know as much concerning themselves as any student can tell them.

Of the Jews, again, important as they are, I have said nothing; having not gone sufficiently into the details of their dispersion and diffusion.

That there is a want of system in the manner in which the different details are treated is clear. One class is noticed on the strength of one characteristic, one on the strength of another. Upon the whole, this is a result of the subject-matter. To a great extent, however, the nature of the characteristics which are considered depends upon the writer's knowledge of them.

In another respect there is a want of symmetry. The work partly represents the writer as an ethnologist, partly as a politician. It is, to some extent, a contribution to biological science; to some extent one to practical politics.

In each of these departments a leading principle is, or ought to be, conspicuous.

1. Of *race*, so far as it means an original and inherent difference in the way of superiority or inferiority between one aggregate of human beings and another, I know nothing. I take things as I find them now; and, from the present state of things, argue backwards. I come to no beginning. Indeed, what is meant by the term is not easily understood. It is probable that no two writers give it exactly the same meaning. It is certain that very few of those who use it begin with a definition of it. By some authorities ethnology is called the science of races; but, as long as the meaning of the main term itself is unsteady, the definition is no definition at all. The word, however, is one which the present writer, even elsewhere, has rarely had recourse to. He has avoided it when he can, and has done well enough, in numerous works on ethnological subjects, without it. If he has used it occasionally, he does so inadvertently. If an original difference mean anything it means a difference of *species*. If there be no original difference the term *variety* is sufficient. It is not, however, necessary to go further on the point. Even by the strongest advocates of the doctrine of original specific differences, Europe is admitted to be nearly homogeneous. Such being the case, the fact to which attention is drawn is this—that for nine-

tenths of Europe the blood can be proved to have become mixed within the historical period, and for two-thirds of the remainder it can fairly be inferred to have been so at the period not very long before it. Different *breeds* (to borrow a term from the zoologists proper) there are. Different *species* may or may not exist. It will be time enough to consider this question when the naturalists have agreed as to what the term species may mean.

Other generalizations are also impugned. Able—very able—men, have written about the antagonism of the Asiatic and European families of mankind. But what if the Turks have always been in Europe? What if countries so far west as Lower Austria and Bavaria were once to a great extent, Turk? Reasons for believing that this was really the case are given in the sequel.

Able men, too, have written on what may be called the missions of certain populations, *e. g.* the Slavonic. The Slaves have done little hitherto in history; therefore, they have a great part to play in the future. What if a thousand years ago they had done much? What if half Germany be Slavonic?

2. That more than one nationality is grievously wronged and cruelly oppressed is assumed. If it were not so, why write a book? But it is one thing for a nation which was once powerful, and dominant, and which treated other nations just as, at the present moment, it complains of being treated itself, to claim an independent recognition for itself; another thing for it to claim the restitution of its old dominion and prerogative. The claim that it should have good government, self-government, or, at least, the government that was promised to it on certain occasions, is valid. The claim that it should regain its old power of governing others is less so. That the two may coincide is true. A may wish to be incorporated with B, just as decidedly as B wishes to incorporate A. But the vote of A must be taken on the matter, and, by no means, be determined by either the aspirations or the evidence of B.

"Emancipate us" is a reasonable cry. "Strengthen us by the incorporation of this, that, or the other, in order that we may defend our independence," is an unreasonable one.

The thorough recognition of this difference has made me, more than once, follow my convictions rather than my impulses.

Between the feeling of nationality, and the feeling which its

friends call a spirit of reform, and its enemies the revolutionary or democratic impulse, I have drawn a broad distinction. The most homogeneous nation in the world may be revolutionary. For the feeling of nationality a national antagonism is required. The two are often (in most cases, of late, they have been generally) mixed in their operation. In all such cases, each has injured the other.

By means of this confusion, along with the undue extension of old claims incalculable injury has been done to more than one good cause. And it will continue to be done. It is easy for a writer who has a minimum of either national or political grievances to lecture on moderation and singleness of purpose. England is, comparatively speaking, a reasonable and an enlightened country. Yet what Englishman will say that, under the conditions of a Pole, a Greek, or even a North American, he would not act as they do?

If treaties and diplomacy are here made light of in the following pages—or rather if they are ignored—it is not because the writer thinks them useless. They act as checks. They serve as ballast. They are valuable as landmarks. They are part and parcel of that complex of antecedents which form the opinions and mould the feelings of the generation that lives under their effects. As such, they are powers in determining the character of sentiment. But here they cease to act as forces. The only real forces are the wills, the sinews, and the intelligence of so many actors under such or such circumstances. That these should be regulated by a certain respect for certain antecedents is right and proper. But if they are not so regulated, they must be taken as they are. They are the only efficient causes that history recognizes.

To conclude—the work has been some time in the press; and the beard has grown during the shaving. Events have gone on whilst they were being written about. In some cases, towards the end of the work (for instance, in the affairs connected with Servia, Montenegro, and Greece), events have taken place between even the printing and the correction of the sheets. Here, I have let the original text stand, and added a note. Upon one point, however, I find it necessary to record my modification of one of my statements. In speaking of the extent to which the Lithuanian

and Little Russian provinces sympathized, or failed to sympathize with Poland, I have made them more indifferent than I should do at the present moment. The movements in Minsk and Podolia are what I scarcely expected. They are, *apparently*, more Polish than was, at first, surmised. At the same time, I doubt whether they are not more political and social than Polish in the proper sense of the term. They coincide with the movement in Poland; they may be more closely connected with it than I imagine; and I should not be sorry to think that they were so.

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THE

# NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE.

## CHAPTER I.

Poland till the Union with Lithuania.—The Original Extent of the Polish Area Westward.—The Fabulous Period.—The Early Historical Period.—Miceslas I. to Ladislas V. (Jagellon).

SIMPLY on the strength of its enormous extent and the multiplicity of nations under the dominion of its Czar Russia is a convenient country to begin with. Area for area, it is one of the largest empires in the world. It is equally a first-class Power if we look to its population; which amounts to more than sixty millions. There are, perhaps, more individual men and women in India, and more in China. Nevertheless, there are not four empires on the face of the earth wherein sixty millions can be counted. Still less, with the possible exception of China, is there any one wherein so large a proportion of its inhabitants belongs to the same division of the human race; every one of which is equally obedient (passively obedient) to the same rule and equally imbued with the same national spirit.

There is much in Russia which is other than Russian; but, when this is subtracted, the pure Moscovite remainder is of inordinate magnitude. Whether we look to differences of dialect, differences of creed, or differences of nationality, there are upwards of forty millions of pure and proper Russians, between any two of whom there is less difference than is to be found between an extreme Englishman and an extreme Scotchman; possibly less

than is to be found between an English Dissenter and an English High-Churchman of two distant counties. Such being the case, the amount of heterogeneous, and even conflicting elements, may be considerable in respect to its absolute dimensions, and yet of but little importance when we consider it in its relations to the rest of the Empire. There are elements in the great Russian mass which are by no means Russian. There are differences between the Russians themselves, which (though they amount to something) amount to but little considered as differences. But, even if they were greater, if the alien elements were more numerous than they are, and if the differences between the Russian elements themselves were more decided, the vast mass of its uniform and homogeneous constituents would, still, be overwhelming.

In the way of Theology, all this homogeneous power is a power of the Greek Church. In the way of Ethnology, all this homogeneous power is a power of the Slavonic stock. Whether the blood be so purely Slavonic as certain other characteristics would make it, is another question. Nevertheless, for all intents and purposes, a Russian is a Slavonian; and, not only is he this, but he is pre-eminently the representative of Slavonism.

There are Slaves, it is true, beyond the boundaries of Russia, just as there are Germans beyond the pale of Germany, and Frenchmen beyond that of France. And they are numerous. They are numerous, however, only when compared with the smaller divisions of mankind. All in all, they amount to less than a fourth of the Slaves of Russia only.

Russia, then, in way of Slavonism, is a representative Power; and so it is in the way of Theology. Russia is to the Greek Church in Divinity what it is to the Slaves of the world at large in Ethnology.

What Russia is in her relations to the spirit of political progress, I merely hint. Whatever she may be besides, and whatever exceptions may be made to the current doctrine that she is the very incarnation of absolutism, is either too well known, or too generally believed to be known, to require more than a cursory allusion.

With an inconsiderable exception, all the Russians in the world are Russian—by which I mean, that every individual acknowledg-

ing the name and blood and speaking the language of Russia, is (with the exception aforesaid) a subject of the Czar. A few Ruthenians or Rusniaks, occupants of the Eastern part of Gallicia, are under Austria; but, with the exception of these, the Russian has no congeners subject to any rule but the one which he himself obeys; nor has he any Russian nationality to care about beyond the boundaries of Russia. There are no notable Moscovite analogues to the French *habitans* of Canada; none to the Germans of Cúrland and Livonia; none to the Italians of Malta; none to the Bosnians, Wallachians, Albanians, and Greeks of Turkey.

Russia, then, is extensive, populous, compact, representative, and homogeneous. What is to be said about that Slavonism which it so especially represents will be said in the sequel. The immediate investigation is that of the heterogeneous elements of the Russian Empire; first and foremost amongst which, come the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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The original extent of the Poles and their near kinsmen is not to be measured by the present size of Poland. Whether we look upon it as a kingdom reduced by partition, or as an originally great empire, the early domains touched the Elbe and the Baltic on one side, and the Dnieper on another. In the eighth century they went far beyond this. I do not say that all which may then be given to Poland was actually Polish. I only say that much of it was as truly Polish as many parts of Poland itself at the beginning of the historical period; and that the rest was Polish in the way that the Lowlands of Scotland were English, or the Northern parts of England were Scotch, before the Union. All that was not actually Polish was nearly so. This means that the particular division of the great Slavonic family which Modern Poland now represents extended far beyond its present boundaries. The Vistula is, in the main, Polish at the present moment; but in the eighth century the Oder was Polish as well, and the Elbe nearly so.

The Germans have pressed eastwards; and what we must now do is to see over what amount of country, originally Slavonic, they have stretched themselves. Nor is this difficult: a mere glance at the ordinary maps will put us on the line of in-

quiry. If we move from Hanover eastwards, we soon find that we are in a land of which a great number of the geographical names is other than German. Faint signs of this show themselves as far westwards as the drainage of the Weser; and the parts about Verden give us the first elements for our investigation. Here comes the little river Bomlitz with its decidedly Slavonic name. As it is, it stands nearly alone. It rises, however, in Luneburg, which takes its name from the Slavonic tribe of the Linones. In the old muniments of the town of that name we find enactments against any German intermarrying with a Wend or Slavonian, along with other notices which tell us that, in the capital at least, the Slavonians were treated as an inferior population—a population which originally held the land; but from whom that land had been wrested by German conquerors who felt themselves to be an intrusive nation. To the East of the Ilmenau, along the valley of which runs the railway from Hanover to Hamburgh—so that, by some means or other which can scarcely be called accidental, the civil and the natural lines of demarcation coincide—the signs of an early Slavonic occupation increase; and we have not only a greater percentage of Slavonic local names, but the fragments of an actual Slavonic population. In three parishes, those of Luchow, Danneburg, and Wustrow, there is to be found at the present moment a small population whom the Germans of the neighbourhood call Wends, and amongst whom, in the last century, individuals might be found who still spoke a strange sort of Slavonic. The Lord's Prayer, in what is called the Linonian of the seventeenth century has come down to us, and though greatly mixed up with German, it is not only Slavonic, but Slavonic of the Polish branch. More, however, will be said about these Linonian, or Luneburg Wends, when we treat of Hanover. At present they are merely quoted as evidence to the extent to which Slavonia originally extended.

In Altmark, the Slavonic names for villages and other geographical localities not only increase, but, in many maps, preponderate; whilst the name of the district is not only indicative of the land having been a march, or boundary, but of its having been an old one; inasmuch as the word is neither more nor less than the Old March. Further east comes the Middle March, or Mittelmark, and further eastward still the New March, or Neu-

mark, and Uckermark, the first element of which is the Slavonic synonym of the German. The Slaves called it an Ukraine, the Germans a March. Out of the two names, by a process of which most countries which have been occupied by populations speaking different languages give us instances, came the present hybrid, or bilingual, compound.

*Beyond* the Elbe all is clear and patent; indeed, the assertion that that river was the boundary between the Germans and the Slavonians at the time of Charlemagne, is not only common, but generally received. Upon the fact, at the time in question, there is neither doubt nor shadow of doubt; the only doubt being whether, at some earlier period, the land may not have been held by Germans whom certain Slavonians replaced. How far this be true or not, is another question—a question which the present writer has elsewhere answered in the negative. Still it is the doctrine of many competent authorities, especially in Germany. These, however, admit that in the eighth century all beyond the Elbe was Slavonic. And few, if any, deny that, *as Slavonic*, it was more Polish than aught else.

In carrying, then, the Slavonic boundary to the Elbe, I am only doing what others do; though not exactly in the same sense. The point, however, wherein there is any difference at all is, for the present work, an unimportant one. Neither do I differ from many in carrying it as far west as the parts about Verden. All admit that *Eastern* Luneburg was Slavonic.

How far the Hartz was Slavonic is doubtful. Its south-eastern valleys seem to have been so. At any rate, to the south of the Hartz Slavonia prolongs itself westward. The Saale was currently held to divide Slavonia from Thuringia; but there are signs of Slavonic occupancy beyond even the Saale. Of the Slaves of the Mayn I shall speak when Bohemia comes under notice; for I consider that, even if the aborigines of that river were Slaves, they were in a different category from those now under notice. They were the nearest congeners of the Bohemians rather than the Poles.

With this remark I move northwards, and approach the valley of the Lower Elbe and the parts about Hamburgh. When Luneburg was Slavonic, Lauenburg was the same and Ratzeburg was a Slavonic metropolis. We know the names of the popula-

tions of these parts. There were the Polabingians, or the men on the Elbe, and there were the Wagrians, or the men of the Ukraine, or March. These latter, *eo nomine*, occupied the Eastern part of Holstein, and either touched, or approached, the Eyder. Doing this, they came in contact with the Danes. The parts about Kiel, Plön, and Lübeck, were Wagrian; a name which is to be found among the titles of the earlier Danish kings, as well as in the chronicles of the time. But of these more will be said when we treat of Denmark.

As for Mecklenburg, it is at the present moment Slavonic in respect to the blood of its dukes—the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Prince-bishops of Montenegro, and the Princes of Servia being the only representatives of Slavonic blood in high places now existing; for the Emperor of Russia is of German rather than of Slavonic extraction.

The island of Rügen is well known to be the great locality for such Slavonic antiquities as illustrate Slavonic paganism, whilst Pomerania is a Slavonic word, meaning "on the sea." All this will find its application when we read of certain Polish kings being either suzerains or sovereigns to certain Pomeranian dukes; and also, when we hear of others carrying either their arms or their influence as far as Holstein.

In Eastern Pomerania there is a fragment of the original Slavonians who still speak a dialect closely akin to the Polish at the present time; and there is another in a different quarter, *i. e.* in Lusatia, which does the same; except that this latter dialect is, more or less, Bohemian as well. But more of these elsewhere. Enough has been said to draw attention to the original extent of either Poland, or something very like it, westward.

A little remains to be said about the name. At present we treat the term as the name of a country, or as a compound of the word *land*. In respect to its etymology, it is nothing of the kind. The final *d*, though current, is a blunder; it is as much out of place as it is in *gownd* for *gown*. The German form *Pohlen* is better. It is a word like Wales,* meaning Poles. Still it is, fundamentally, a geographical term, from *polie=a plain, a level, a champaign country*. A *Pole* in the *Highlands* is, etymologically, a contradiction in terms; for the word means

* *Wales* is *Wealhas*, the plural of *Wealh= Welshman*.

merely the people of a certain tract with a certain physical character. It may, originally, have excluded many a true Pole. It may, originally, have comprehended many a man who was anything but Polish in blood, language, and nationality. The *native* name, be it remembered, is Lekh.

Hence, when the Poles first appear in history they are anything but the most western of the Slavonic populations; anything but the frontagers of Germany—though this is what they are at present. On the contrary, they are a central section of North-western Slaves, who have between themselves and Germany, Silesians, Saxons, Lusatians, Brandenburghers (though that was not their Slavonic name), Mecklenburgers (or Obotrites), Linonians, Polabingians, Wagrians, and others.

That some of the earliest Polish movements began at a point beyond the present western boundaries of Poland, in districts where Poland has ceased to exist with its full characteristics of name, nationality, and language, is probable; at any rate, it is highly probable that their direction was from the south or west rather than from the east or north. Warsaw has no prominence in the older history of the kingdom to which it is the capital; indeed, it only becomes a true metropolis, with undivided honours, in the fourteenth century, subsequent to the union with Lithuania. The older names are those of Gnesna, Krustwiec, and Cracow. In these, and not in Warsaw, the venues of the earliest events were laid.

These are clearly fabulous. Lekh I., who is merely an eponymus for the nation, fixed his dwelling at Gnesna, a place which took its name from the word *gniazda=nest*. One day he was clearing a piece or ground, and he found an eagle's nest. This determined his abode. His descendants ruled after him, till the most tyrannical of them forced his people into a rebellion at the head of which was Cracus—*unde* Cracow. Wenda was one of his descendants; she was a princess of great beauty, whom Rudiger, the German, thought to conquer by force of arms in the first place, and, afterwards, to marry. He failed, and killed himself. Wenda, however, ended unhappily. After a sacrifice on the Vistula she threw herself into the river. Now, word for word, *Wenda* is *Wend;* so that the legend, if it deserve the name, though early in respect to its appearance in history, is scarcely of home growth;

inasmuch as the men who used the term were not Poles but Germans.

Przemislas, another early king, had to defend his country against the Hungarians. He cut down a lot of trees, and planted them so as to look like soldiers. The Hungarians were deceived, and suffered accordingly. This looks like the old old story, *mutatis mutandis*, of Birnam Wood and Dunsinane. Then came Lesko I., who won his crown by winning a horse-race; *mutatis mutandis*, after the fashion of Darius in Persia.

After him, with an interval, came Popiel II., who poisoned his uncle. The body bred rats. The rats attacked Popiel. Popiel lit fires all round him. The rats got either through, or over, the fires. Then he took to the water. The rats got into his boat. Then he got into the highest room of the highest and most solitary tower he could find—where the rats ate him up. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is the story of a wicked Bishop in Germany.

Then came Piast, the founder of the Piast dynasty, and (as such) an apparently historical personage. He was very poor; but, along with his wife, who is specially mentioned, he received with hospitality two strangers. His provender was scanty; but it never failed. So he was made King of Poland. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is Baucis and Philemon.

I have noticed these legends, in order to show the extent to which the earliest Polish history is not only other than historical, but other than native.

Amongst the successors of Piast was a Ziemovit. Ziemovit was the father of Lesko IV., Lesko IV. of Zemomysl, and Zemomysl of Miceslas I., who is as truly a historical individual (though all the events of his reign are not so) as Ziemovit is, apparently, an *ens rationis*. Yet Ziemovit was his grandfather. With Miceslas I., then, we have the dim dawn of Polish history.

It was a Hungarian princess whom Miceslas I. married; and, as her father would not consent to her union with a Pagan, the same occurred in Poland as occurred with Ethelbert of Kent in England. Christianity was introduced amongst the Anglo-Saxons through a Frank Queen. A Hungarian wife gave it to Poland. There are various accounts as to the details of Miceslas' conversion. All agree in making him renounce polygamy and in his being earnest in teaching it to his subjects. But there was

a rumour that, towards the end of his life, he relapsed. The preacher was from Germany—St. Adalbert; and when the Emperor Otho visited his successor at Gnesna, where the remains of the Saint were entombed, he thought himself fortunate in taking away with him an arm of the first apostle who had preached the Gospel to the fierce warriors of the Vistula. With the exception of Kameniec, which I presume is the town of that name in Podolia, and from which I infer that, at this early period, the Polish domain, though perhaps as a mere strip along the northern edge of the Carpathians, extended thus far in the direction of Russia, all the bishoprics established by Miceslas lie westward. Cracow, however, is one of them. Undoubtedly, the parts of Poland that lay to the east of the Vistula bore but a small proportion to the rest of the domain: and these lay to the south rather than the north. To the north lay the Prussians and Yatshvings; and lower down the Lithuanians, the Cumanian Tartars, and the Russians. Gallicia appears to have been partly Polish and partly Russian. A feudatory to the Empire, then under Otho the Great, Miceslas I. was no king; but only a duke. The former title was conferred by the Pope and the Emperor; and, though the Pope had granted it to the Hungarian ruler, it was withheld from the Polish. There were wars under Miceslas on both sides of his dukedom: a war against Saxony and Bohemia, and a war against Russia. A memorial of this period still exists in the name of the eastern part of Gallicia—*Lodomeria*, which is from *Vladimer* the Russian prince who conquered it.

Miceslas' son, Boleslas I., succeeded him, and *his* wars were in the same directions; against Saxony in the west, against Russia in the east. Saxony at this time, like Brandenburg, was to a great extent Germanized; though, even at the present time, neither is exclusively German. They are nearly so; but not wholly. There is, as has been stated, a remnant of the Sorbs in Lusatia, and there is a remnant of them in the Circle of Cotbus.

In Russia, the centre of the warfare is Kiev. Vladimer the Great had divided his kingdom between his two sons, Swiatopulk and Yaroslav. The former, from his dukedom in Tver, attempted to bring the whole of Russia under him. His brothers, united with Yaroslav in opposing him, and drove him upon Poland. Less to help Swiatopulk than to regain Lodomeria, Boleslas defended

him, won a battle on the Bug, pursued Yaroslav to Kiev, and took the city. Swiatopulk was restored, and then came the Kiev Vespers. The refugee conspired against the army that protected him, and organized a massacre of the Poles within the city. The remainder revenged them with more than usual ferocity, and made the way homewards loaded with booty. The Russians pursued, and a second battle on the Bug was fought against them and won. A third victory was needed; and it was effected. Yaroslav, having destroyed the garrison left in the fortress, crossed the Polish frontier, and was defeated. He lived, however, to be a great conqueror, and one of the present Governments of Russia bears his name.

He found little to oppose him in Boleslas' indolent successor, Miceslas II.; in whose time the Polish frontier was ingloriously insulted. Besides the incursions of Yaroslav, there were Bohemian inroads, Moravian inroads, dishonours in Saxony and Silesia, a rebellion in Pomerania—for the kings of Poland were dukes of Pomerania; and, on one occasion, Boleslas had penetrated as far as Holstein; for we must remember that at this time Mecklenburg, Luneburg, Lauenburg, and even the eastern part of Holstein itself was Slavonic. We must also remember that at the present time there is a remnant of the Slavonians in Pomerania, and that in the last century an impure Slavonic, full of German words, was spoken in Luneburg.

From 1034 to 1041 was a period of anarchy. The widow of Miceslas was a German, the niece of Otho; and Casimir, her son, was a minor. She fled with him and he became a monk. But, at this time, a matter of wonder in Poland, the feeling of legitimacy asserted itself, and Casimir was recalled. With a dispensation from the Pope, allowing him to wear a crown and marry a wife, he returned to Poland, and verified the hopes that had been formed of him. His wife was a sister of the powerful, and once hostile, Yaroslav. With a large body of Russian troops he set himself to reduce Silesia, Pomerania, and the district now called Mazovia. It had revolted, and the formidable Prussians had supported the author of the revolt. No longer a monk, but a brave soldier and a skilful captain, Casimir defeated him. Mazos, the rebel in question, who is said to have given his name to the district, fled to Prussia, and the Prussians slaughtered him

as the author of their discomfiture: for they now paid tribute to Casimir. Silesia yielded to him. Bohemia left him in quiet. Hungary sought his alliance.

His son, Boleslas II., was wholly a soldier. Greedier of renown than of material acquisitions, and chivalrous in his ardour in behalf of fugitive princes, he supported Varomir of Bohemia against his brother Vratislav; but not to the end. The end of his interference was a marriage between Vratislav and his (Boleslas') sister. He supported Bela of Hungary against his brother Andrew and put on his head the Hungarian crown. He afterwards supported Geysa, the son of Bela, against his cousin Salomon. Eventually, however, Salomon became king. In Russia, he supported Isislav against Ucheslav, both sons of Yaroslav, who, like his father, had sown discord in his family, and entailed misery on his country by dividing his dominions. He restored Isislav; but made him a tributary to Poland. He overran Volhynia; and, then, retired to Kiev. Kiev was his Capua. He made both Kiev and Volhynia tributary; but he returned to Poland an enervated voluptuary. We may believe this: though we may not believe all the details concerning the latter part of his reign. There is a strange story that reminds us of the Herodotean account of the wives of the Scythians and the slaves. So long was Boleslas away from Poland that the wives of his officers treated their husbands as dead in law and took their slaves in their place. Not, indeed, all —all but one. The one faithful wife was Margaret, the wife of Count Nicolas de Zembosin. And she resisted temptation. But to do this she shut herself up—according to some, in a dungeon, according to others, in the steeple of a church.

Where and how Boleslas died is unknown. He murdered the Archbishop of Cracow at the altar with his own hand and fled to Hungary. Some say that, after this, he sought refuge, in vain, in Hungary; others that he died a monk in Carinthia; others that he went mad and killed himself; others that, like Actæon, he was torn to pieces by his own dogs in hunting; others that he lived in a humble condition in disguise, and that, just before his death, he revealed himself to his confessor.

His brother, Ladislas I., succeeded him, taking the crown under an interdict (which he got removed) of the Pope on account of the murder of the Archbishop. But he was only re-

cognized as Duke; the title of King being withheld. This limitation, which lasted for more than a century, strengthened the hands of the aristocracy. The possibility, too, of the return of Boleslas gave room for the machinations of party. There was a Russian invasion in the reign of Ladislas, surnamed the Careless, and there was also a Hungarian one, by which Cracow was reduced. Yet the daughter of the king of Hungary became Ladislas' duchess. His reign shows the Poles under a new character; that of superstitious pietists. From the murder of an archbishop to a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Giles there is a long interval. But so it was. The duchess could not be got with child until the pilgrims returned. In due time a child was born; and he was named Boleslas—afterwards Boleslas III. However, before the marriage with her, there was a natural son, and his name was Sbigniev. Better had it been for Poland if one had remained unborn. Between the two brothers there was a blood feud, which the father fondly thought to allay by dividing his dominions between them. To Boleslas he gave Silesia, Cracow, Sendomir, and Sierdiec, with the title of the Duke of Poland: to Sbigniev Pomerania, Lenszysa, Cujavia, and Mazovia. As Sbigniev's machinations began during the life of his father, Ladislas witnessed a civil war between two brothers, with which the neighbouring States were neither unwilling nor unready to mix themselves up. The old troubles on the side of Bohemia and Pomerania were revived, and the division of a country like Poland was made worse by the worthlessness of Sbigniev. A war against the Pagan Prussians was another of the events of the ill-starred reign of Ladislas I.

Boleslas III. won forty-eight battles. We may guess who they were against—first and foremost, the Pomeranians the allies of Sbigniev, then the Silesians, the Moravians, and the Bohemians, who were becoming more and more German; lastly, the Hungarians and the Russians—by whom, conjointly, he was, towards the end of his life, defeated. He divided his dominions into four divisions; and anarchy was the result—modified, indeed, some years afterwards, when the chief power became consolidated in the person of Boleslas, but still, lamentable and injurious anarchy.

Ladislas was the eldest son, and his wife, a German princess, left them no peace until he attempted to consolidate his power at the

expense of his brother's. But his brothers found strong partisans, and it was not Ladislas, but Boleslas, who effected an approximate unity. Then came Casimir II., an amiable and not inefficient, prince; then, after an interval, another Boleslas (the Chaste); then after an interval, Przemislas, Duke of Great Poland and Pomerania, and heir to Sandomir and Cracow, who revived the title of King. During this period the Mongol invasions, along with the Crusades of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword took place, as well as the great battles against the Yatshvings, all of which will be noticed elsewhere. The time, however, was one of disorganization; though the result of the usual wars against the Russians, Bohemians, and the like—chequered with occasional alliances—was less unfavourable than we expect. The order of dukes from the death of Boleslas III. in 1139 to the accession of Przemislas in 1195 is as follows:—Ladislas II., Boleslas IV., Miceslas III., Casimir II., the Just, Lesko the White, Ladislas III., Lesko the White, restored, Boleslas V., Lesko the Black. A.D. 1295–1300.

Przemislas revived the title of King, which he assumed without asking leave of either the Pope or the Kayser: and he found amongst his clergy an archbishop bold enough to place the crown upon his head amid the acclamations of a hopeful people. He fortified Dantzic, and re-established his authority in Pomerania; and the seal, which was stamped in commemoration of his success, bore on one side, *Sigillum Premislai Polonorum Regis et Ducis Poloniæ;* on the other, *Reddidit ipse suis victricia signa Polonis.* A.D. 1295.

He was murdered, however, in the fifth year of his reign: and left only a female child to succeed him. The murderer was his cousin the Markgrave of Anhalt. Ladislas succeeded; but reigned only a few months. Though he fought bravely against the Silesians and Brandenburghers (who are now to be added to the list of the enemies of Poland), his arrogance incensed the people, and, excommunicated by the Church, he was deposed at Posen.

His successor Wenceslas, the King of Bohemia, was a widower, and, as such, free to marry the daughter of Przemislas. This was one of his recommendations. Another was the alliance between the two hostile kingdoms, which the union of the

crowns would effect. Few events, according to human calculations, would more materially and more favourably influence the future history of Poland and Europe than such a consolidation. There was then, as there is now, a provincial feeling of international dislike, often amounting to intense hatred, between the Tsheks and the Lekhs, the Bohemians and the Poles; for there was that similarity combined with difference which so often, between contiguous nations, evolves more mutual repugnance than can be developed by the very strongest contrasts. But on the other hand, there were two languages that, in some of their forms, at least, were mutually intelligible; there was the same belief in the so-called tradition as to their common origin; and there was, what future events would have strengthened, the common hostility to the dangerous and encroaching Germans. Wenceslas was the first foreign king who was called in by the Poles to unite their crown with his own. But he offended his new subjects by the partiality he showed to his earlier ones. It was the old old story of favouritism; the old old tendency to make the new accessions of patronage ancillary to the need and greed of the importunate suitors of his native land. Rarely can a monarch, with the opportunity of enriching his own kith and kin out of the coffers of an occasional dominion, refrain from the indulgence of this short-sighted liberality. None but Bohemians (some Tshek, some German,) shared the confidence of Wenceslas. First came in the breasts of the Poles, envy, hatred, and jealousy, and then sympathy for the banished Ladislas, whom the King of Hungary had promised to restore. So that danger threatened from that quarter. So did it from Pomerania: so, also, from Lithuania. Neither were the hereditary domains of Wenceslas unthreatened. The Emperor was an enemy, and an unscrupulous one; and the troubles that were hanging over Bohemia itself recalled Wenceslas from Poland. He left it with his wife, the daughter of Przemislas, whom he married on his accession and departed for Prague. The garrison of Poland he filled with Bohemian soldiers. That, along with others, they did their duty, as protectors of the kingdom against external enemies, is an inference from the victory won over the Russians, Lithuanians, and Tartars, near Lublin. That they cruelly oppressed the Poles, is a presumption confirmed by the usual conduct of foreign soldiers under

similar conditions. It is also a matter on which the testimony of the Polish historians themselves (with whom, however, we must allow much for national prejudice) is decided. Meanwhile Ladislas was active; and in 1306 he succeeded to the throne.

There is much in the further details of the personal history of Wenceslas that demands attention. The crown of Hungary (for instance) devolved on him; and he declined it. This, however, belongs to the history of Bohemia rather than Poland.

The reign of Ladislas IV. (1306—33) was one long war against the Germans; for the Bohemians were more and more becoming German, and the Knights, though occupants of Cúrland, Livonia, and Prussia were wholly so. Brandenburgh, too, was both hostile and formidable. Upon the whole, he held his own. In another direction, he prepared the way for one of the most important events in Polish history. He married his son Casimir to the daughter of Gedymin, Duke of Lithuania. If the tale be true, that the princess visited Poland and brought with her twenty-four thousand captives, who had been enslaved by the Lithuanians, we get a sad measure of the misery and ruin created by these frontier wars. The numbers, however, in Polish, as in the history of early Greece, generally run suspiciously high. To the last moment, King Ladislas nourished his resentment against the Knights. "Rather bury yourself under the ruins of your throne, than suffer them to possess the territories they have invaded! Punish the traitors! Drive them out of the kingdom." These were amongst his last words, and they were addressed to his son Casimir.

Casimir III., the Great, tempered his courage with prudence, and knowing well that, under the difficulties by which he was oppressed, some concessions must be made, had influence enough with his people to induce them to make terms with the hateful Knights. They were bad—but still the best that could be made. The Bohemian king, supported by two of the Polish Palatines, claimed the Polish crown; and the Knights pressed heavily for the cession of Culm, Michalov, and Pomerania. Under the mediation of the King of Hungary they obtained these, but restored Cujavia, and Drohiczyn. What he gave up as a warrior, he more than redeemed as legislator. We have seen that the title of "Great" has been awarded to him. Even as

A.D. 1333-1370.

a soldier, he added Volhynia and Podolia with the Palatinate of Brzescz and Beltz to the kingdom. Having only one child, and that a daughter, he proposed as his successor the son of his sister—

Lewis, King of Hungary, on ascending the throne, made a special compact with the nobles, by which their power was increased both as against the Crown and as against the Commonalty. They were to be free from all contributions. In guarding themselves against an abuse of patronage, and a swarm of Hungarian officials, they acted wisely. But the guard was insufficient. Immediately on his arrival at Cracow, Lewis conferred two fiefs on two of his relations, and removed the daughter of Casimir to Hungary, thus putting them out of the way of making any marriage which endangered the transmission of the crown to his own descendants. He was forced, however, to leave his mother regent, and, himself, to reside in Hungary. The queen-mother was loved less than the son, and a revolt, in which the Lithuanians lent assistance, was the result. Her son supported her moderately and effectively. He connived at much of what had been done; and succeeded in procuring the election of his daughter, Maria, as his successor. For this he had to make further concessions to the nobles, after which he left the country under the Duke of Oppeln as Governor. Him they refused to obey, and put the government in commission to three natives whom they obeyed just as badly.

Loved in Hungary, and hated in Poland, Lewis died in 1382, having annexed Red Russia, a dependency of Poland, to the *Hungarian* Crown. He relinquished all claims to Silesia. Pomerania had been relinquished before. By these two concessions, the original character of the Polish area was notably altered. It was (so to say) thrown eastward; so that it is as a kingdom of Eastern, or North-eastern, rather than as one of Western Europe that it is usually considered. We must remember, however, the original Polish character of Silesia and Pomerania.

The claims of Maria, and her husband Sigismund, were set aside, and Hedvig, youngest daughter of the late king, and granddaughter of Casimir the Great, grand-daughter also of a Lithuanian princess, stood, like another Helen, prominent before a world of suitors—beautiful, virtuous, and the heiress of a crown. She married Jagello, the son of Gedymin, Duke of Lithuania, and by

this marriage the Kingdom of Poland and the Dukedom of Lithuania were united. The Piast was succeeded by, or rather amalgamated with, the Jagellon dynasty.

With the marriage of Hedvig of Poland to Jagellon of Lithuania, I take leave, for a while, of the kingdom of Poland, in order to notice the duchy which is now united with it; and I do so with the intention of giving greater prominence to the latter than has usually been assigned to it.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Yatshvings.

*LITHUANIC* is used both in a general and a special sense. As a general term its import is ethnological and philological rather than political; as a special one it is political rather than either philological or geographical.

Ethnologically, the Lithuanic stock falls into four divisions—the Yatshving, the Lithuanic Proper, the Lett, and the Prussian. Of these it is only the first, second, and third that are sufficiently connected with Poland to command our attention just now. Of the first two, the former is of comparatively slight importance, for which reason it will be dealt with first and disposed of at once.

Of all the populations of Europe, the Yatshvings are, perhaps, the most fragmentary. Indeed, at the present time, the name occurs in only the following localities.

(1. 2.) There are two small villages on the left bank of the Bobr, in the Circle of Bialostock, named *Yatvez Stara*, and *Yatvez Nova*, or *Old* and *New Yatvez*. The Prussian maps give the form of *Jacwiz*. Not far from these are the *Mogilki Yadzhvingovskie*, or the *Yatshving Graves;* memorials, in all probability, of one of the battles of the thirteenth century.

(3. 4.) Two villages named *Yatvesk*, lie on the right side of the Niemen, in the Government of Vilna, and in the Circle of Lila. The environment here is Lithuanic. With the villages in Bialostock, it was Polish. In Schubert's map, a distinction is drawn between the two, and the one is called *Polish*, the other *Russian*, Yatvesk.

(5.) Not far from these is a small population called *Yatveshai*. Are these the *Yodvezhai* which Narbut places to the east of Grodno, occupants of *Yatvez* Pol, or the *Yatshving* Field? If

so, they are said to differ from their neighbours in habits, in dress, and in complexion, their skins and clothing being dark.

(6.) There is a village named Yatvesk about seven versts from Sswislotsch.

The history of the Yatshvings is also fragmentary, though at one time they were a formidable people. Their name commands attention, or rather the multiplicity of forms under which it is found. Nor is this to be wondered at. To say nothing about the extent to which the Lithuanian phonesis differs from the Latin and the German, the difference between the populations by which the Yatshving area was surrounded is alone sufficient to account for it. So many languages, so many *media*: so many *media*, so many chances of change. Then there are the differences of orthography; *e. g.* the use of *t* for *c*, and *vice versâ*. Thunmann found the form *Jecwesin*, and, treating it as the accusative case of *Jecwesi*, made it a Fin gloss, the termination *-wesi* being Fin for *water*. He might, however, have found any amount of strange forms, *i. e.* Jacuitæ, Jatuitæ, Gzecwesii, Terra Gzecwesia, Gzetwintzitæ, Getwinziti, Getwezitæ, Jetwesen, Jazuingi, Jasuingi, Jacuingi, Jaczwingi, Jacwingi, Yatwyagi, Yatwyazhi, Yatwyagove, the latter forms being Russian. *Getæ*, too, and *Jazyges*, he might have found; but, with these it would be doubtful whether he had a real name or a piece of ethnological speculation. It is only certain that forms like those given above are, by no means, uncommon. Little, however, has been written about them.

The Mithridates—whereof it may be said, by the bye, that the section on the Lithuanic is one of the most exceptionable parts of the whole—mentions them, in a cursory and perfunctory manner; excusable, perhaps, from the fact of Language being the main object of the work, combined with that of the Yatshvings having left no specimens of their speech except a few proper names. It mentions them, however, after Thunmann and Slözer; treating them as Lithuanians. Winning, who is the only Englishman who has written at large upon the Prussians, never mentions the Yatshvings. Neither does Prichard. Amongst the Germans, Zeuss, whose work, though a Kosmos for fact, is an *ignis fatuus* for results, tells us more about them than any previous writer. Nevertheless, there is one standard monograph upon

them—one by Sjögren in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg; and it is this from which the following fragmentary notices are taken.

The place is the Polish, Prussian, and Lithuanian frontiers; the time the thirteenth century.

The town and fortress of Drohitshyn is stated by fair authorities to have been the metropolis of the Yatshvings in the plenitude of their power. This, however, is denied by Sjögren; who says that, as a general rule, it was in the hands of either the Russians or the Poles, and, for a short time, in those of the Teutonic Knights. The same able writer demurs to the statement of Dlugosz, who gives the year 1264 as the date of their final overthrow; not to say their extermination. Then, (as is said) Boleslas the Chaste, so utterly broke their power and dissolved their nationality, that, with the exception of a few peaceful labourers and some sick men, the whole population either made itself over to the conqueror, or mixed itself with the Lithuanians; and that to such a degree that "now the very name of Yatshving is no longer in existence." Mathias of Miechov's notice is, in the main, the same; except that instead of his saying that the name is extinct, he writes that it is *perrarum et paucis notum*. It is enough to believe that Boleslas' victory ejected them from Podlachia: inasmuch as, in 1282, along with a formidable body of Lithuanians, they attacked Lublin. To bring down their history somewhat lower, Kromer writes that in 1589 a few remains of them were said to survive the rest of their nations (*feruntur superesse*) in Russia and Lithuania, distinguished by their language from the Lithuanians and the Russians. We have seen that it can be carried farther down.

The centre of the stock was Podlachia, nearly coinciding with the present province of Bialostock: of which they appear to have held the whole. On the west they extended into Mazovia, of which they held only a part; the remainder being Polish. On the east a portion of Polesia was Yatshving; and here their frontagers were either pure Lithuanians, pure Russians, or a population of mixed blood. Finally, a part, at least, of the area usually assigned to the Old, or true, Prussians was Yatshving: namely, the *Sudauer* district. Now if this name be, word for word, *Sudeni*, and if it also represent the early population of

the country, the Sudeni of Ptolemy were among the ancestors of the northern Yatshvings.

What they were remarkable for was their obstinate Paganism; and the extent to which every man's hand was held against them. Their only allies seem to have been the Cumanians and the Mongols. Notwithstanding all the allowance that must be made for the dark colours in which they are drawn, they were, evidently, a barbarous, though a brave, people. By 1300, however, they had ceased to be a nation.

The first campaign against them was undertaken by Conrad, duke of Mazovia, and Vassilko Romanovitsh, who, conjointly with his brother Daniel, was Duke of Halicz, or Gallicia. This was in 1246. The year after this, Conrad, and the year after that, Conrad's son and successor, died. This made Semovit duke: and, under him, the offensive alliance with the princes of Gallicia continued. There were battles in 1248 and 1251. Meanwhile, the Teutonic Knights, with their hands against every one, were fighting to-day against their old allies, and to-morrow in alliance with their old enemies. By 1254 Semovit has made over to them a sixth of the Yatshving territory—whatever that was. The part that was thus cut off from the rest seems to have lien in the Sudauer country. The next year the allied arms of the Mazovians and the Gallicians extorted tribute from another Yatshving district. In 1256, the Pope, Alexander IV., announces the voluntary conversion of a few of them; and makes them over to the protecting hands of the Bishop of Breslau and two of the Teutonic Knights. About the same time he enjoins a crusade against the remainder; including in his denunciations the Lithuanians.

And now the Mongols have reached Volhynia, Gallicia, and the frontiers of Lithuania and Poland; and Wasilko Romanovitsh is compelled to join them in the inroad upon the Lithuanians and the Yatshvings whose frontier has again to be encroached on. The great Lithuanian king, Mindog, gives a part of it to the Teutonic Knights.

In 1264 the Yatshvings attack Lublin, and we may suppose that their chief, Komat, is at their head; since that is the name of the Yatshving king who, a few months afterwards, is killed in the great battle (already alluded to) which was won by Boleslas, to the discomfiture, though not (as asserted) to the utter

annihilation of the Yatshvings. The chiefs, Mintelä, Schurpja, Mudejko, and Pestilo, are still able to offer an ineffectual resistance to the Russian princes, Lew, Vladimir, and Mtsislav, in 1272. Soon afterwards, another chief, Skumand, heads their armies: and it is, probably, he who, after joining an heterogeneous army of Russians, Lithuanians, and Tartars in a murderous invasion of Poland, is attacked by the Grandmaster Mangold, defeated, and baptized. Skumand was the last of the Yatshvings whose name appears in history, and he was, perhaps, the first who died in his bed. This he did between 1280 and 1290.

## CHAPTER III.

The Lithuanians Proper.—Their Poetry.—Their Fairy Tales.

WITH the single exception of the Esthonians, the Lithuanians are the most pagan of all the nations of civilized Europe: in other words, their superstitions are not only the most numerous, but they are the most redolent of Heathendom. Of the thousand-and-one songs which illustrate the simple modes of thought of the flax-dressers and foresters of their rude regions scarcely one is founded upon either a saintly legend or a Christian sentiment. The Virgin is nowhere: the miracle nowhere: the saint nowhere. There are holy wells, and mysterious groves; but the tales connected with them are not of a holy character. There is superstition and there is religion; but it is the superstition which in Italy would invoke Neptune in a storm, and the religion which sees in the Sun and the Morning-star a God of Light and a Messenger of the Dawn rather than mere heavenly bodies. As little do the ballads savour of heroes, warriors, and robbers. For all that they tell us, there is no heroic, no predatory age in Lithuania. Of border feuds, and of bold moss-troopers, there is scarcely a word; and scarcely a word about any ancient king or captain. Of the songs that show even the soldier-sentiment there are but few, and the antiquity of these is but low. They date back to the times of Frederic the Great or of Charles XII. at the very most. All the following are samples from Nesselmann:—

1.

1.
To-day we'll drink ale;
To-morrow we'll march out
To the land of Hungary,

2.
Where there are rivers of wine,
Where there are golden apples,
And where the woods are orchards.

3.
And what shall we do there?
And what shall we do there,
In the land of Hungary?

4.
We'll build us a city
With costly stones,
And windows of the Sun.

5.

And what shall we eat?
And what shall we eat,
In the land of Hungary?

6.

Tender chickens;
Pigeons roasted,
At the Sun's stove.

7.

And what shall we drink?
And what shall we drink,
In the land of Hungary?

8.

Milk, mead,
Double beer,
Red wine.

9.

And what shall we wear?
Short coats,
With gold buttons.

10.

And where shall we sleep?
On beds of silk,
And pillows of down.

11.

And who shall wait on us?
And who shall wait on us,
In the land of Hungary?

12.

The Daughters of the Gods,
With white hands,
And soft words.

13.

And when shall we come back?
And when shall we come back,
From the land of Hungary?

14.

When posts have buds,
When stones have leaves,
When trees grow on the sea.

2.

1.

To-day we will drink mead;
To-morrow we will march
Into the land of the Franks.

2.

There grows a green forest
In the land of the Franks—
In the land of the Franks.

3.

Through that green forest
Runs a clear stream—
Runs a clear stream.

4.

Over the clear stream
Is a bright bridge—
Is a bright bridge.

5.

Under the bright bridge
Swims a many-coloured fish—
Swims a many-coloured fish.

6.

He that shall catch the fish
Shall be king of Poland—
Shall be king of Poland.

7.

The Saxon shall catch it,
And he shall be king of Poland—
And he shall be king of Poland.

In all this the Lithuanian songs stand in strong contrast to those of the Servians, the Spaniards and the Scotch, and the Germans; in all of which the personal element and the adventure are prominent. But of the simple sentiment of rural life, they are full; and the imagery corresponds. Here and there, too, there is an approach to the apologue.

1.

The sparrow gave
A wedding feast for his daughter;
Dam dam dali dam,
A wedding feast for his daughter.

2.

Out of a grain of rye
He baked the bread;
Dam dam dali dam,
He baked the bread.

3.

Out of a grain of barley
He brewed the ale;
Dam dam dali dam,
He brewed the ale.

4.

And he called
All the birds;
Dam dam dali dam,
All the birds.

5.

The owl alone
Was not called;
Dam dam dali dam,
The owl alone.

6.

But the owl came
Uncalled;
Dam dam dali dam,
Uncalled.

7.

The owl set himself
At the end of the table;
Dam dam dali dam,
At the end of the table.

8.

The owl took
Crumbs of white bread;
Dam dam dali dam,
Crumbs of white bread.

9.

The sparrow asked
The owl to dance;
Dam dam dali dam,
The owl to dance.

10.

The sparrow trod on
The owl's toes;
Dam dam dali dam,
The owl's toes.

11.

The sparrow picked out
The owl's eye,
Dam dam dali dam,
The owl's eye.

12.

The owl danced
Blind and lame;
Dam dam dali dam,
Blind and lame.

13.

The owl as judge
On the hedge;
Dam dam dali dam,
On the hedge.

14.

The owl's nest,
Is it not a palace?
Dam dam dali dam,
Is it not a palace?

15.

The owl's sons,
Are they not lords?
Dam dam dali dam,
Are they not lords?

16.

The owl's daughters,
Are they not ladies?
Dam dam dali dam,
Are they not ladies?

17.

The owl's head,
Is it not a skillet?
Dam dam dali dam?
Is it not a skillet?

18.

The owl's eyes,
Are they not bungholes?
Dam dam dali dam?
Are they not bungholes?

19.

The owl's beak,
Is it not a gun?
Dam dam dali dam,
Is it not a gun?

20.

The owl's feathers,
Are they not silk?
Dam dam dali dam,
Are they not silk?

21.

The owl's wings
Are they not posies?
Dam dam dali dam,
Are they not posies?

22.

The owl's feet,
Are they not harrows?
Dam dam dali dam,
Are they not harrows?

23.

The owl's tail
Is it not a besom?
Dam dam dali dam,
Is it not a besom?

4.

1.

The wolf, the wolfie,
The beast of the forest,
Goes out of the wood
Into the meadows,
Worries the calves,
And the foals:
Such is his work.

2.

The fox, the foxie,
The beast of the forest,
Creeps from the wood
Into the homestead,
Steals and bites
Cocks and geese:
Such is his work.

3.

The dog, the doggie,
The watcher of the house,
Barks and bites
The thief's toes,
Frightens old women,
And beggar-men:
Such is his work.

4.

The flea, the fleaie,
Sucks the blood
At dawn of day,
To wake the maids,
To milk the cows:
Such is his work.

5.

The bee, the beeie,
The insect of the forest,
Hums on the heath,
Stings our fingers,
Ears, and face,
Gives us honey:
Such is his work.

6.

Oh! man, manikin,
Look at the bee,
Thou stingest
Our hearts, our hearties,
Give them comfort
To your brother:
Such is man's work.

More interesting than any of the preceding are those which convey allusions to the old mythology of the pagan period; or, to speak more strictly, those which represent that amount of Paganism which still exists—still exists, though overlaid and disguised by an imperfect Christianity. To Perkun, Perkuns, or Perkunos, was awarded either the first, or the second place in the Lithuanic Pantheon—his rival in power being Pikullos. The name of the latter, though not found in the collection from which the present specimens are taken, is, still, to be found elsewhere—as will be shown in the sequel.

5.

1.
"Sun, Daughter of God,
Why so far goest thou?
Why so long waitest thou,
From us departing?"

2.
"Over seas, over hills,
I have looked at the meadows,
I have cheered the shepherds:
Many are my gifts."

3.
"Sun, Daughter of God,
Who, Morning and Evening,
Lights your fire,
Makes your bed?"

4.
"The Morning-Star, the Evening-Star;
The Morning-Star for my fire,
The Evening-Star for my bed:
Many are my mates."

6.

1.
The Moon went with the Sun,
In the early Spring;
The Sun got up early:
The Moon went away from him.

2.
The Moon walked alone,
Fell in love with the Morning-Star;
Perkun, greatly angered,
Stabbed her with a sword.

3.
Why wentest thou away from the Sun?
Why walk alone in the night?
Why fall in love with the Morning-Star?
Your heart is full of sorrow.

7.

1.
Yesterday, in the evening,
My lamb got lost;
Who'll help to seek
My only lamb?

2.
I went to the Morning-Star;
The Morning-Star answered,
"At the dawn of Day,
I must light the Sun's fire."

3.
I went to the Evening-Star;
The Evening-Star answered,
"At the close of Day,
I must make the Sun's bed."

4.
I went to the Moon;
And the Moon answered,
"I have been stabbed by a sword:
Sad is my countenance!"

5.
I went to the Sun;
The Sun answered,
"For nine Days will I search,
And on the tenth I won't leave off."

8.

1.
The Morning-Star gave a feast;
Perkun rode past the gate:
He struck down a green oak-tree.

2.
The oak-tree, dripping with blood,
Splashed my garment—
Splashed my garland.

3.
The Sun's Daughter, weeping,
Collected, for three years,
The withered leaves.

4.
"Oh, where, my mother,
Shall I wash my garments?
Where shall I wash out the blood?"

5.

"Oh, my young daughter,
Go to the pond
Into which nine streams flow!"

6.

"And where, my mother,
Shall I dry my clothes?
Where shall I dry them in the wind?"

7.

"Oh, my young daughter,
In that green garden
Where nine rose-trees grow!"

9.

1.

There sailed—there sailed
From the Russian town,
Two young fishermen.

2.

They cast—they cast
Their fine nets,
In the middle of the bay.

3.

They took—they took
The fishes of the sea,
With their fine nets.

4.

And they caught in their nets—
Oh, what a wonder!—
Two sea-calves.

5.

"Mate! mate!
Friend! friend!
What are these two fishes?"

6.

And the God of the Sea
Was angry with them:
A storm arose.

7.

"Oh, mate! mate!
Friend! friend!
Throw out the golden anchor!"

8.

"Oh, mate! mate!
Friend! friend!
Run up to the top of the mast!

9.

"Perhaps you may see
The hills of the harbour;
Perhaps a slender fir-tree."

10.

"I see no harbour—
I see no hills—
I see no slender fir-tree.

11.

"I can only see
My own dear maiden,
Walking in the fir-wood.

12.

"Black—black is her garland,
Yellow her curls,
Green her skirt.

13.

"I would if I could
Pull in two
The green skirt.

14.

"One half
I would keep in my locker;
Of the other half I would make a flag."

Poems, however, of this kind are exceptional. The generality is of the same sort as those of Estonia; and to some extent, (allowing for a difference of imagery) of the Swiss and Tyrolese. But, as will be seen in the sequel, it is with that of those of

Estonia that the imagery most agrees. The horse, which is always called by its poetic name *zirgus* rather than by its ordinary name *arklys*, appears in almost all of them. It carries the lover to his sweet-heart, who is in a garden of rue and peonies, plucking lilies, and preparing wreaths. Or she is helping at the mowing; or pulling the flax; or, it may be, spinning in her mother's hut. The love-making, though an air of simple sentiment is flung around it, is of an ordinary kind; with a *modicum* of reserve and but little refinement. Allowing, however, for the practice of what the Germans call "love between the blankets," to which the Welsh give a grosser name—it is innocent withal. It is done prettily, to say the least; perhaps, poetically.

10.

1.

"Come hither, maiden!
Come hither, young one!
Let us talk sweet talk—
Let us dream dreams,
Where the springs are the deepest—
Where the love is the lovingest."

2.

"I cannot, young man—
I cannot, young man!
My mother will scold,
The old father will scold,
If I go home late—
If I go home late."

3.

"Then say, young maiden—
Then say, young one,!
That two ducks flew to the spring,
And muddied the water."

4.

"It is not true, my daughter—
It is not true, my young one;
You talked with a young man—
You dreamed with a young man,
Under the green,
With sweet words."

11.

1.

"My daughter Simonene,
Where did you get the boy?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
Where did you get the boy?"

2.

"Mother—honoured mother,
It came in a dream;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
It came in a dream."

3.

"My daughter Simonene,
And how will you cover him?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
And how will you cover him?"

4.

"Mother—honoured mother,
In the hood of my gown;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
In the hood of my gown."

5.

"My daughter Simonene,
And who will watch over him?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
And who will watch over him?"

6.

"Mother—honoured mother,
The daughters of God,
Dam, dam, dali dam,
Will bear him on their hands."

7.

"My daughter Simonene,
What will you lay him in?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
What will you lay him in?"

8.

"Mother—honoured mother,
In the shroud of the dew;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
In the shroud of the dew."

9.

"My daughter Simonene,
Where will you rock him?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
Where will you rock him?"

10.

"Mother—honoured mother,
In the cradle of the Laima;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
In the cradle of the Laima."

11.

"My daughter Simonene,
What will you feed him with?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
What will you feed him with?"

12.

"Mother—honoured mother,
With the white bread of the Sun;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
With the white bread of the Sun."

13.

"My daughter Simonene,
Where will you send him?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
Where will you send him?"

14.

"Mother—honoured mother,
In the army of the Boyards;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
In the army of the Boyards."

15.

"My daughter Simonene,
What will he be?
Dam, dam, dali dam,
What will he be?"

16.

"Mother—honoured mother,
He will be a Hetman;
Dam, dam, dali dam,
He will be a Hetman."

12.

1.

I went into the town of Tilsit—
Into the town of Tilsit, among the dragoons.

2.

There rode out one troop—there rode out another,
But there was not—there was not my young man.

3.

I went into Königsberg—
Into Königsberg, among the fine people.

4.

There walked out one company—there walked out another,
But there was not—there was not my young man.

5.

I went into Berlin,
Amongst the King's guards.

6.

There went out one company—there went out another,
But there was not—there was not my young man.

7.

I went into a green meadow—
Into a green meadow, among the mowers.

8.

I looked at one, I looked at the other,
But there was not—there was not my young man.

9.

I went on a high hill—
On a high hill, among the ploughers.

10.

I looked at one, and I looked at the other,
And there I set eyes on my young man.

13.

1.

And there flew a bright-coloured greenfinch
Out of the garden,
And bespoke a many-coloured nightingale
In the garden.
"Now, go away, you many-coloured greenfinch,
From me;
You will find other nightingales
As good as I."
"No! I have flown over a hundred gardens
And one,
But never I have found nightingale
Like you!"

2.

And there rode a young courtier
Out of the court,
And bespoke a young court lady,
In the court.
"Now, go away, you young courtier,
From me;
You will find other court ladies
As good as I."
"No! I have ridden through ten courts
And one,
But never found lady like you!"

3.

And there rode a young villager
Out of the village,
And bespoke a young maiden
In the village.
"Now, go away, you young villager,
From me;

You will find other maidens
As good as I."
"No! I have ridden through ten villages
And one,
And never found a maiden like you."

4.

And there rode a young townsman
Out of the town,
And bespoke a young lady
In the town.
"Now, go away, you young townsman,
From me;
You will find other young ladies
As good as I."
"No! I have ridden through ten towns
And one,
And never found lady like you!"

Between the earliest of these and the latest there is but little difference. The oldest song in Lithuanic belongs to the sixteenth century; but it might have been composed yesterday; as hundreds like it are composed. Perhaps, we should say that the Lithuanian songs *grow:* for they are anonymous, and, until lately, all unwritten; and in different parts of the country the same song takes a different form or differs in length from its fellow. Thus a few stanzas may be found in one village; whereas another may give it with addition upon addition. The longest, however, are short —sonnets, so to say, in a metre different from that of the ordinary sonneteer. The name for them is *Dainus;* word for word, the name of similar songs in Wallachia and Moldavia. The *gesme* is the sacred song, the *dainus* the popular one. The *gesme* makes, perhaps, a hundredth part of the whole collection; the *dainus* all the rest.

The fairies of Lithuania are the *Laumas,* of whom tale upon tale is current. The Lauma haunts lonely places, and visits the dwellings of men at night. It is a female, and is skilled in all female employment. It can spin, weave, sew, work in the fields. One thing, however, it can *not* do. It cannot begin a work, and it cannot end one. It is not malicious, but only mischievous. It steals and changes infants. A child of a Lauma is soon either discovered or suspected. It has a big swollen head. It sometimes lives to be ten years old, rarely twelve, never thirteen.

Once upon a time a poor woman had her child changed. It had never spoken; a beggar came to the door, and told her what to do with the child. She must break an egg and take the shell; she must make a kettle of it and fill it with water; she must take it into the kitchen and wait till the child opens its eyes. The child, when it saw what was going on, would ask what she was doing. She was to answer "brewing ale." When the child heard this, it would speak, and then die. The mother did all that the beggar told her. "What are you doing, mother?" said the child. "My child, I am brewing ale," said the mother. "God give you grace," said the child; "I was born before the trees at Kamschen were planted. They have grown to be big trees, and are now cut down or dead. Such a wonder as this I never saw." It said this, but it said no more; it pined and died.

Again: once on a time there was a man with his wife in Budweten. They had a child, and it was fit to be baptized. The father went to the town to buy some things for the baptism, and the child slipped off on the floor. At that time the Lithuanians had large halls, with wide polished floors. You find them now in some of the old houses. So the father and mother went to bed; but their son, who was a lad, slept in the hall. When all were fast asleep, in came two Laumas. No one knew how they came, but the boy heard them talk to one another. He was not asleep, but only slumbered, so that he said nothing. The two Laumas went into the kitchen and lit a torch, and then crept back again into the hall. And then they took the new-born babe, and swathed it up, and put a besom in the swathing-bands. It was now time to put the changeling into its place, so they agreed who should put it. "Go you," said one Lauma. "No! go you," said the other. "*I* shan't," said one; "*I* shan't," said the other. They would never have changed it at all, if they had not agreed to take it between them. So they both took it, but they left the real child behind. The boy who had heard all the quarrel, waited till they were out of the room, and then jumped up and took the true child with him to his own bed; and when he had done this, the two Laumas came back. "Look what *you*'ve done," said one, "Look what *you*'ve done," said the other. "Kirikiri! Kirikiri! Kirikiri!" crowed the cock. So now the lad took the true child and went with it to the bedroom of the father and mother, and

gave it to them. The torch was burning, but the mother was sleeping sound. The lad awakened her. "Thank you," said she, "thank you again and again. I have had such a terrible dream. I dreamed that there was a nightmare on my breast, so heavy that I could not draw my breath." So the lad told her all; but she would not believe him till she looked between the sheets, and, lo! there were two babes there. One was like the one just born, but the other was strange and wonderful to behold. So the next day they went to the parson; the parson was a wise man, and knew all about Laumas and their lying tricks. So he gave them these orders:—"If the boy be quite sure that he tells nothing but the truth, let him swear to it, and let him then take the false child, and as soon as he gets home, take a hatchet, lay its head on the threshold of the door, and cut off its head; it cannot be dead twenty-four hours, and after that time it will be alive again." The boy wished to do as he was told, but was afraid to do it alone; so he waited till his master came back. The master said, "Let us do what the parson tells us." So they took the false child, and went and got an axe, and laid the child's neck on the threshold of the door, and cut off his head, and took it up to look at the neck. There was nothing under the skin but the straw and twigs of the besom, and these were bleeding just as if they were veins. Ever since then the Lithuanians have burnt torches at christenings.

Again: once upon a time there was a young man, and he slept all alone in his bed-room; but he was pressed all night long by a Lauma. He did all he could to get rid of it. One day he met a neighbour who told him how he might do it. He was to go into the wood, and in a clump of trees he would find a young oak growing; he was to cut this down and see which way the grain of the wood ran; he was to keep his hatchet along the grain and make a bolt; he was to go to the room where he slept and bolt his door with it; he was to drive it in with a hammer made out of nine-times-nine pieces of iron, with a lime-tree handle. So he went to the wood, and he found the clump of trees, and he picked out the oak, and he cut it down, and he saw which way it grew, and he made the bolt, and he went home, and he lay awake in his bed. And the Lauma came creeping up, and he heard her coming, and he jumped out of bed, and he took the axe, and he drove in the bolt. And he went to bed again, and he lay awake and listened. And

he heard no more of the Lauma, but he heard a sound like a cat scratching. And he lay awake till the day dawned; and then he saw a beautiful maiden all in tears, and he married the maiden, and she made him a good wife; and he worked hard at his daily labour, and she worked with him, but she could never begin any work, and she could never end it. And they had two children, but she was always crying and talking about the bolt in the door, and she begged and begged until he took it away. And then she said she could begin her work, and she could end her work. Thus they lived many years together, and at last the bolt was taken away, and the night after the wife was gone, and the husband never saw her again. He never saw her again; but every Thursday night she brought the little children some white handkerchiefs. The white handkerchiefs were brought every Thursday evening, but the young man saw nobody.

Again: there was a poor girl, who had neither father nor mother. But the Lauma pitied her, and every day brought her great rolls of sheets and fine linen. She might use them as her own, but she was never to measure them with a yard-band. However, the heap grew and grew, till she wondered what it was worth, and how many yards of linen there were in it. She said, "I must sell some, and to the market it shall go. I'll take a few yards at first, and afterwards take more." So she measured off a few yards. But the next night it was all gone, and no more was ever brought to her.

Again: there was a widow who had a good harvest, but could not get it in. A Lauma promised to help her, if she would only let her eat as much bacon as she could. So she helped to get the harvest and ate away at the bacon. She ate and ate until she had eaten all the boiled and all the fried. Then she ate it raw. At this the widow lost patience. There was only one flitch left, and that hung to the roof by a band. She took the band and struck the Lauma with it on the mouth, who was so angry that she scattered all the corn she had got-in over the field, and ate up the rest of the bacon.

Again: there was a woman who had a child, and she went every day to wash the baby-linen in a pond with a flight of steps that led down to it. In Lithuania, where the washing is done out-of-doors, such steps are common; and the washerwomen beat the

linen with bats or clubs instead of rubbing it between their hands as we do. She washed the linen every day; on Thursdays, as well as at other times. Now Thursday is the washing-day of the Laumas, when they go of an evening to the wash-ponds and beat the clothes like the ordinary washerwomen. They washed and washed, and made so much noise over their washing that all the neighbourhood was frightened; and no one more than the good woman with her baby-linen. She did not know what to do, until she was told that if she made a whip out of the bast, or inner bark, of the lime-tree, and went to the pond, and stood on the steps, and laid about her, whether any one was to be seen or not, the Lauma would go away. She might get her brother to do this, or do it herself. Her brother's name was Jákam; he was a bold man; for he had been a soldier. So he did what his sister asked, and got the whip, and went to the pond, and stood on the steps, and waited till he heard the noise. He then laid about him with the whip. But he saw nothing except three washing-bats, which lay on the steps. He took them, and went home with them. After this there were no more noises at the pond: not even on a Thursday evening. But when Jákam went to bed, he heard a voice saying—"Jákam! Jákam! good Jákam, give us back our washing-bats." So it was for two Thursdays running; and on the third he heard more—"Jákam! Jákam! good, kind Jákam! give us back our washing-bats. We shall be very miserable without them; and if you will let us have them, we promise we will never wash again. Good Jákam, give them back to us, or else we shall die." Jákam was a kind man, and he gave back the washing-bats: after which the Laumas were as good as their word, and they never washed there again.

Another Lauma saw a mother washing her child. The mother went out, and when she came back, the child was dead. The Lauma had taken it, and wanted to wash it in a bath just as the mother. Instead, however, of lukewarm water she made it boiling hot, and scalded the poor baby to death.

The Lauma often teaches good housewives to spin and weave, and if the housewife can guess their name, she has all the linen; otherwise, the Lauma takes half of it. There was only one woman who ever guessed right. The Lauma's name was *Bigute*, and this the woman found out by guessing.

Thursday is the great day for the Lauma. If you begin any spinning or weaving, or any kind of work that Laumas are given to, they will come when you have gone to bed, and go on with it till the cock crows: when they will take it away for themselves.

The longest story about the Lauma is the following from the neighbourhood of Pilkallen in East Prussia.

There were nine brothers, and they had only one sister among them. All nine went to the wars; but before they went away, they bought their sister a golden ring. This was when she was a little girl. When she had grown up she looked in her desk and found the ring her brothers had bought. But she did not know who had put it there. So she said to her mother, "Mother, who has put this ring here?" And the mother answered, "My child! thou hast nine brothers, and the eldest has bought the ring and left it here for you. They are all soldiers, and have gone to the wars." Then the maiden asked her mother if she might go after them. The mother said yes; and got her a little horse and a little car, and harnessed the horse to the car, and put her daughter in, and sent her on her way. As she was driving she met a hare, and the hare said, "Onùte!" (that was her name) "Onùte! my dear sister! let me go with you." "Oh, yes," said Onùte, "get up, and sit behind." So they both drove until they came to a lake where the Laumas were bathing. Onùte was dressed very beautifully, and the ring was on her finger. When the Laumas saw her, they said, "Come to us, Onùte—come and bathe. We have a river flowing with milk, and its bank is all of red wine." But the hare said, "Oh! Onùte! go not with them. The river is all tears, and the bank is all blood." Then a Lauma, who heard what was said, jumped up and tore off the poor hare's hind-legs. They drove a little further, and found some more Laumas bathing, and they spoke to her as before: "Come and bathe, Onùte; we have a river of milk, and its banks are all red wine." But the hare warned her against it again. So the Lauma, very angry, tore the hare to pieces, and flung her out of the car.

Onùte drove on, and found some more Laumas bathing; and, as the friendly hare was not with her, she was persuaded to take off her clothes and bathe. Then said a Lauma, "Onùte! I will change you into a louse, and myself into a flea, and we'll jump

into the water at the same time, and whoever comes out first shall put on your fine clothes, and whoever comes out last shall put on this ragged jacket." Onùte agreed to this, and the Lauma came out first. But though Onùte had taken off all her clothes, she had not taken off the golden ring; and although she had put on the ragged jacket, she had still the golden ring on her finger. But this the Lauma did not see.

So they went a little further, and Onùte began to cry. "What are you crying for?" said the Lauma, "and what are you seeking?" "I am seeking my nine brothers, who have gone to the wars." So they went a little further until they came to a great house. The Lauma went in, and said—"Have you got nine windows here, and nine tables, and nine plates, and nine saucers, and nine spoons," and at last she said, "have you nine brothers here?" "No," said the woman of the house, "we have neither nine brothers, nor nine windows, nor nine anything."

So they went a little further until they came to another great house, and there they found the nine windows, &c., and also the nine brothers. The eldest of them said to the others, "That must be our sister." So the Lauma was treated like their sister and placed at the head of the table and made much of. "But who have you got with you?" said the eldest brother. The Lauma answered, "I was driving along the bank of a lake, and I saw a Lauma, and she asked me to take her with me, and I did so." To this the brother said, "Good! let her go into the fields and tend the horses." And she did so. But when she put them up in their stalls the eldest brother's horse would not eat; so she sang to him thus:—

Oh, my horse! oh, my brown!
Why wilt thou not eat
The green grass of the meadows?
Why wilt thou not drink
The clear water of the stream?

Then the horse answered, and said:—

Why should I eat green grass?
Why drink the water of the stream?
That Lauma, that witch,
Drinks wine with your brothers,
And thou, the sister of your brothers,
Must keep horses.

Now, the eldest brother heard this, and said, "Lauma! will you come and . . . . head off." So his sister came to him crying bitterly; when her brother saw the ring. Then he said, "Where did you get that ring?" So she told him all about it. The brother then fell down in a fit: and when he recovered he took his sister to the great house and had her dressed in clean and beautiful clothes. And he told the other brothers who she was, and all about the Lauma. And, then, they considered what should be done with the Lauma. So they took a horse and covered it all over with pitch, and let it stand before the door. Then they cried to the Lauma, "Lauma! witch! get away out of the house." "I cannot do that," said the Lauma, "because there is a horse before the door!" "Then take it away," said the brother. So she laid her hand on it to take it away. But the hand stuck to the pitch. "Try your foot," said the brother. But the foot stuck. "Try the other hand." But that stuck. "Try the other foot." That stuck too. Then she pushed the horse with her whole body. But that stuck. So the brother took a strong girth, and tied her on the horse, and gave it a smart cut with the whip, saying:—

Off! horse!
Off! brown!
Over the heaths,
Through vales and dales,
Run to the sea, and then throw her off.

The horse did as he was told.

But it is not the songs of the Lithuanians, nor yet the obscure fragments of their history, which give them their ethnological importance. That which has drawn the eyes of philologues from all quarters is their language. The modern inquirer, who examines it with more than ordinary interest and curiosity, only regrets that he finds in it but ruins of the numerous dialects into which it may have been divided and sub-divided. Of the changes it may have undergone during its numerous stages, he knows nothing—has no materials for knowing. Of its original extent he can get but a rough measure; and that only by inferences, in which so much speculation and assumption is mixed up, that he is never sure of any second investigator agreeing with him.

There is much, however, which is certain; much that no scio-

lism can overlook, no scepticism abolish. In the amount of its inflection, especially in respect to the declension of its substantives and its adjectives, and (more especially) its participles, the Lithuanic reminds us of languages like the Latin of Cicero and the Greek of Pericles, rather than any modern tongue, like Italian, Spanish, or English. Where *we* use prepositions, and say, *to a town, from a town,* or the like, the Lithuanians have true cases.

The Icelandic and the High-German only approach the fulness of the Lithuanic noun in this respect. On the other hand, however, the conjugation of the verbs is limited. Still, the language is more ancient than modern—at any rate, it is more like the Latin than the Italian, more like the Greek than the Romaic, in its development.

But this is not the chief point upon which the attention of philologues has been concentrated. After a long series of unsatisfactory speculations, and hasty guesses; after a mass of different opinions as to whether the Letts and Lithuanians constituted a separate stock or a mixed mass of Slaves and Fins; after a conflict of statements as to the real relations and position of their language, the unexpected fact, that of all the languages in the world, it is the ancient literary language of India—the Sanskrit, and its congeners—with which the Lithuanic (after its immediate congeners, the Slavonic forms of speech) is most immediately connected—has become generally admitted and authoritatively adopted. And this, for a language so little known through its literary, its commercial, and its political importance; for a language spoken by less than a million individuals; and for a language limited to the fragments of a province, is saying much.

The fact, however, is beyond doubt. How it is to be explained is a question which scarcely finds place in a work like the present. At any rate, the present chapter is no place for it.

I conclude with the following extract from Prichard; written after the Indian affinities of the Lithuanic had been acknowledged, but before they had received the attention which, within the last few years, they have commanded.

Of late years, and since the history of the Indo-European languages has engaged so much attention, the dialects of the Lithuanians and Letts have been diligently studied and elucidated. The result has been a now-prevailing and perhaps fully-established opinion, that this idiom may justly claim a particular place of its own among the languages of that class. It appears, indeed, that the

Lithuanian, of all the idioms of Europe, has the nearest affinity with the Sanskrit. It is a fact, though a very surprising one, that the language of the ancient Prussians and Letts was strongly allied to the sacred and classical dialect of Hindústan. How this can have happened would be a puzzling question, which fortunately it is needless to discuss, since our concern is merely to ascertain facts. An analysis of the Old Prussian language, by Professor Von Bohlen, fully establishes the assertion, which the grammatical researches of MM. Bopp, Grimm, Lassen, and others had made sufficiently probable, if not quite certain.—Vol. iii. p. 453.

*Specimens* 3 *and* 4 *in the original Lithuanian.*

(3).

Zada żwirblelis
Dukrytę leisti,
Dam dam dali dam
Dukrytę leisti.

Isz rugiû grudo
Iszkepe dûną,
Dam dam dali dam
Iszkepe dûną.

Isz mėżiû grudo
Padare alu,
Dam dam dali dam
Padare alu.

O ir sukwėte
Wisus pauksztyczus,
Dam dam dali dam
Wisus pauksztyczus.

Tiktay ne kwėte
Peléda wėna,
Dam dam dali dam
Peléda wėna.

Ateit peléda
Ir nekwėczama,
Dam dam dali dam
Ir nekwėczama.

Sėdos peléda
Už stalo galo,
Dam dam dali dam
Už stalo galo.

Isztrauk peléda
Pyrago galą
Dam dam dali dam
Pyrago galą.

Iszwede żwirblis
Peléda szokti,
Dam dam dali dam
Peléda szokti.

O ir pamyne
Pelėdôs pirszta,
Dam dam dali dam
Pelėdôs pirszta.

Iszkirto zwirblis
Pelėdôs akį,
Dam dam dali dam
Pelėdôs aki.

Szoko peléda
Akla ir raisza,
Dam dam dali dam
Akla ir raisza.

Peléda prowon,
Żwirblis į tworą
Dam dam dali dam
Żwirblis į tworą.

Pelėdôs lizdas
Ar ne dwarelis?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne dwarelis?

Pelėdôs waikai
Ar ne ponaczei?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne ponaczei?

Pelėdôs dukres
Ar ne paneles?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne paneles?

Pelėdôs galwa
Ar ne pûdelis?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne pûdelis?

Pelėdôs akys
Ar ne spunteles?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne spunteles?

Pelėdôs snapas
Ar ne puczkele?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne puczkele?

Pelėdôs plunksnos
Ar ne barweles?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne barweles?

Pelėdôs sparnai
Ar ne kwėtkeles?

Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne kwėtkeles?

Pelėdôs kojos
Ar ne grėblelei?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne grėblelei?

Ir jôs ûdega
Ar ne szlûtrażys?
Dam dam dali dam
Ar ne szlûtrażys?

(4.)

Wilkas wilkelis,
Medinis paukszlis,
Iszeit isz girôs
Ant ganyklelės,
Plėszia werszelį
Ir kumeluka.
Tai sawo darbas.

Lape lapele,
Medinis paukszlis,
Slenka isz girôs
I priwartele,
Pjauna sugauna
Zasi wisztelę.
Tai sawo darbas.

Szů, szů, szunelis,
Trobôs sargelis,
Loja ir pjauna
Wagės kulnelę,
Baidin' bobeles,
Kelionės żmones.
Tai sawo darbas.

Blusa blusele,
Smilus paukszlelis,
Surbja kraujelį,
Ausztant auszrelei
Milszti karweles
Budin' mergeles.
Tai sawo darbas.

Bite bitele,
Medinis paukszlis,
Birbja szilelij',
Gil i pirszlelį,
Weidą, auselė,
Dûd ir medeliaus
Tai sawo darbas.

Zmogau żmogeliau,
Regęk bitelę!
Gana tu gilį
Szirdij' szirdelej';
Dûk ben salduma
Sawo broleliui.
Tai żmogaus darbas.

This is in the orthography of Nesselmann, which slightly differs from both the older and newer modes of spelling.

## CHAPTER IV.

Early History of Lithuania.—Its Contrast to its Present State.—The Old Lithuanians a warlike People.—Mindog and his Successors.—Yagello to Sigismund II.

So low is the present condition of the small peasantry which now represents the Lithuanic name and language, that many of those who assume the immutable character of national aptitudes and national energies, are unwilling to believe that the original Lithuanians were formidable warriors, and ferocious conquerors—so much so that they have taken refuge in the doctrine that, in the times of their historical importance, the Lithuanian leaders were no Lithuanians at all, but either Poles or Russians, or of mixed blood. From the details of their early history, and from the names of their heroes, I find myself unable to agree with this view; I find that, anterior to the union with Poland, there is no evidence of any notable Polish influence; and that, in respect to Russia, it was the Lithuanians who, in the way of domination, exerted full as much power as was brought to bear upon themselves. This, however, refers only to the earlier, and, I may add, to the darker and more obscure periods of their history. The nearer we come to our own times the more uniform is the warlike superiority of Russia.

In wars against the Letts and Courlanders, their own near congeners, the Lithuanians were generally victorious; and it is the early historian of Liefland, Henry, himself a Lett, who writes that his countrymen were as lambs to wolves in respect to the Lithuanians. The analogy of the Yatshvings and the Old Prussians points in the same direction. Between these and the Lithuanian there were border wars. There were also intestine wars between the different divisions of the Lithuanians themselves, (especially in Samogitia the typically Lithuanian part of Lithuania,) both at the dawn of history, and at the present time.

Upon the Ugrians of their frontier the Lithuanians seem steadily to have encroached; so much so that I doubt whether there is a single acre of Lithuania which was not originally Finn. This, however, is a point of general ethnology, upon which there is no need to enlarge; neither is the fact very important. So many are in the habit of looking upon the Ugrians as one of the weaker divisions of mankind, that no amount of victories over them would prove much as to the prowess of the conqueror. Though I hold this view to be erroneous, I need scarcely stop to correct it. What I wish to suggest at present is the fact that, though now depressed, the Lithuanians were once bold warriors. The Germans, however, upon the whole, worsted them; though not at once and easily. From West to East the encroachment of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Swords was steadily successful. Yet it told more upon Courland and Livonia than upon Samogitia and Lithuania Proper. Besides which, it was backed by a mass of powerful dukedoms, principalities, and kingdoms; not to say an empire and a pope. These wars of the Orders under notice were Crusades, though not in the technical sense of the term. They were Crusades like that against the Albigenses, and, perhaps, bloodier and more disgraceful ones. They were resisted, though not equally, in all directions, and they were only partially complete. Though Courland and Livonia were, more or less, Germanized, and though, at the present time, they constitute the so-called German Governments of the Russian Empire, Lithuania and Samogitia are as they were always—Russian or Polish (so far as they are other than Lithuanic) rather than Teutonic. Neither, in later times, did the Swedish influence extend far southwards.

The nerve and courage of the Lithuanians themselves had much to do with this, yet it cannot be denied that the impracticable nature of their country had a large share in it. The land is a land of moors, fens, and forests, one of which (and here is a measure of its inaccessibility) is the only locality for the almost extinct aurochs. In the single forest of . . . . . the only remaining herds of this once numerous ruminant are now found wild—and this, through the protection of stringent laws for their preservation.

It is hardly necessary for us to speculate upon the forces by which the Lithuanian nationality was broken-up: inasmuch as it

was never thoroughly consolidated. When we first meet with the name—the condition of the populations to which, in its general sense, we have applied it, was that of a loose aggregate of States, some of which might be more inclined to amalgamate with their neighbours than others, and some of which had grown larger than the others by the absorption of the smaller ones. Besides which, there was an irregular chain of affinities and intermarriages amongst the potentates. But this state of things is the rule rather than the exception with all countries in their infancy; and it no more applied to Lithuania in particular than it did to the neighbouring countries of Poland and Russia; where the Duke of Mazovia or Susdalia might, in one year, lead an army against the Duke of Cujavia or Novogorod, and in another marry his daughter or contract an offensive or a defensive alliance with him. It no more applied to Lithuania, in particular, than it did to that heterogeneous mass of principalities which, under the name of Germany, has still to be consolidated into a unity. It no more applied to Lithuania, in particular, than to England under the Heptarchy. Here and elsewhere, as well as in Lithuania, there was only an incipient consolidation. But in Poland, in Russia, to some extent in Germany, and to a great extent in the British Isles, this incipient nationality developed itself into its full integrity, and out of it grew powerful kingdoms—powerful because the union was complete. With the Lithuanians, however, this development was arrested, and the fusion of Courlanders, Livonians, Samogitians, Yatshvings and Prussians into one, or even two, united empires never took place. If, then, there be, at the present time, but little nationality to lose, and the little that there is, has been well-nigh lost, it is because there was, from the very beginning, but little to keep. There never was a time when Lithuania was at once consolidated into a single kingdom and united to Poland.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the small principalities seem to have been that of Lithuania Proper; that of Samogitia; that of Ruskow; that of Bulewit; that of the Lett country. If these weakened the influence of the Lithuanian name, the weakness was relative rather than absolute. There were the same divisions elsewhere. What was afterwards the kingdom of Poland constituted, in the time of Mindog, the dukedoms or principalities,

of Mazovia, of Cujavia, of Cracow, of Sendomir, of Pomerellia, and the like. What was afterwards the empire of the Russian Czar gave the dukedoms, or principalities, of Tshernigof, of Halitsh, of Novogorod, or of Moscow. Prussia was Lithuanian as far as the Vistula, at least. Silesia was well-nigh as Slavonic as Poland. The Finn districts to the east and north, except so far as Finland itself was Swedish, were in a similarly unorganized condition. There was consolidation, indeed, in Germany, and there was consolidation in Scandinavia; but in Sarmatia there was little beyond sectional nationalities, and unsteady alliances—unsteady alliances even against the common enemy the Crusaders from Germany.

At the same time there was an approximation to the formation of kingdoms: inasmuch as warlike princes attacked their neighbours and politic princes intermarried with them. Neither did claimants for a power stick at either perjury or bloodshed. The brother who stood in a brother's way had as fair a chance of being done to death, at the decease of his father, in Lithuania, as ever a descendant of Othman had in Turkey. This we may see in the history of Mindog; with whom, instead of with Gedymin, the history of Lithuania begins. Soon after his succession to such divided power as devolved upon him after the murder of Wishekut, the chief of the Bulewit, he married his widow, and killed his brothers. By other machinations, which the silence of history allows us to hope were less nefarious, he came, eventually to a position, in Lithuania, not unlike that of Ecbert's in England. His title is Grand Duke. About 1250, he is at war with his own nephews Tewtiwil, and Jediwid; with their uncle Wykynt of Samogitia; with Daniel Romanovitsh of Halicz; and, fourthly, with the German Knights in Livonia. He enters into relations with the Pope; apparently aware that there is a struggle between the eastern and western churches for the conversion of the heathens of the debateable land between Germany and Muscovy. He allows himself to be baptized; being aware that Christianity, real or professed, would take away from the Teutonic Knights their excuse for attacking him. He is crowned by the express order of the Pontiff, and has a bishop assigned to his kingdom: whilst the ecclesiastic authorities of Oesel, Courland, Riga, and Dorpat are enjoined to arrest such movements on the part of the Order as might be undertaken under

the notion that he was still either a pagan or a doubtful convert. Nevertheless, we find that he has to give up a portion of his dominions, and the gift is confirmed at Rome. So is another and a more important one, viz. that of the whole of his kingdom provided he die without issue. So is another, by which he richly endows the first Lithuanian bishopric; upon the income of which the Order levies a tithe. He is not, however, as yet, childless; so that the reversion of his kingdom to the Teutonic Knights is little more than an improbable contingency; or, perhaps, his promise was construed to mean that any son who rejected Christianity should be treated as no son at all. At any rate, in '55, his son not only became King of Lithuania; but king in conjunction with his father. After his coronation, the Pope confirmed him in the possession of certain districts conquered from Russia. The Order gained by this a corresponding concession on the frontier of Lithuania and Courland. Meanwhile, the power of the Christian world was shaken, and the thought of the Pope painfully and anxiously turned towards the formation of a common league against a common enemy. He was attempting to organize a Crusade against the Mongols. Their inroads had weakened both the Russian and the Polish princes; but not the populations which still adhered to paganism. Against the swords of Germany, the bow and mace of the Asiatic nomads were, as far as they had tried, ineffectual; and we can scarcely believe, that the bad, but bold men of the Order, looked upon their expected attacks with any feeling but that of conscious and complacent security. Still, the Mongol inroads upon Poland and Lithuania were serious complications for them. What influence they may have had upon the mind of Mindog can only be conjectured. He became, however, an apostate to his old paganism, and abandoned his alliance. He attacked the possessions of the Knights both in Courland and Livonia; and his nephew Troinat, of Samogitia, under whose instigations he is said to have abandoned Christianity, assisted him in his hostilities. In '63, however, his nephew Troinat murders him—him and his two sons.

Such was the Ecbert of Lithuania: who seems to be as pure a Lithuanian as the lowest of his soldiers, and as fair a specimen of a barbaric potentate—with the elements of a conqueror and con-

solidator within his crafty soul—as any one I have read about. And his successors were much the same; though we get only glimpses of their career. From what we know of Voyshelk, Mindog's son, we may infer that he was a formidable neighbour; but that his Duchy was too large to be defended on one side, if attacked on the other. There is a notice during his reign of attacks upon Mohilev, Smolensko, and Tver: along with a more important one on Novogorod. It was made more for the sake of plunder than of permanent conquest; and it seems that it was on their way back with a great booty of chattels and slaves that the invaders were overtaken by Vassiliy Alexandrovitsh, Prince of Novogorod, who signally defeated and despoiled them. The battle was fought in the present Government of Pskov, near Toropetz.

Within a year or two of the battle of Toropetz, Novogrodek and his other possessions in Grodno were given up to Romanus, the son of Daniel: a fact which enables us to bring the Lithuanic influences as far south as the frontier of Volhynia and Gallicia; an influence which I believe was not only political but ethnological. In other words, I think that the present Government of Grodno was not only a Lithuanic domain but a Lithuanic occupancy as well. Woishelk, himself, became a monk. He was succeeded by Ringolt, the father of Gedymin, the father of Olgerd, the father of Yagello, who takes us back to Poland. I shall continue to call him Yagello, (though on his coronation he changed it for that of Vladislas IV.,) partly because such is the practice of numerous writers, and partly because I wish to give as much prominence as possible to the Lithuanic element in Polish, in Russian, and in German history. He promised much. He promised to renounce his native paganism, to propagate Christianity throughout his dominions, and to incorporate these with Poland. This he promised, and this he performed. To reconquer Silesia and Pomerania he also promised: but here the performance fell short. As a neophyte, but at the same time a missionary, he seems to have acted with good faith and judgment. We hear nothing of any relapse, nothing of any persecution. He was jealous of his wife, and, at times, brutal in his conduct towards her: but there was a romantic element in her early history, and he knew that, if she had chosen for herself, another

would have been her choice. Though deficient in energy and easily deceived, he sincerely loved both his new religion and his people.

Let us now notice the details of the Polono-Lithuanic union. Yagello himself was one of thirteen sons. Of these, Skirgello first comes under notice. He was left by his brother, on his accession to the Polish crown, as governor of Lithuania; but he made himself hateful to the Lithuanians. Another brother, Witold, took advantage of this; and not only blew the embers of discontent into open rebellion but called in the aid of the Teutonic Knights: who more than once besieged (but failed in taking) Wilna, a newly-made episcopal town, and the first of its kind in Lithuania. That Yagello fought against them (and not without success), is true: but he stopped short of the true objects of the war. Instead of deposing and punishing Witold—he was probably right in ignoring the claims of the tyrannical Skirgello—he offered him conditions which ended in his being invested with the government. By this, the usurpation was confirmed; and Skirgello took up arms. *He* also obtained conditions. Indeed, the whole family knew how to get them. There was the German Empire and there was the Order of the Knights; and in either of these they found an enemy to Poland equally effective and unscrupulous.

Witold, ambitious and, though acknowledged as governor, dissatisfied with anything short of complete independence, continued his machinations: which a defeat which he sustained at the hands of the Tartars only arrested. His hostility was disguised. He more than once co-operated with his brother against the Knights. Still, he bided his time and waited for opportunities.

The wisdom of his brother in encouraging a community of feeling between the divisions of his kingdom, for a while, disconcerted his schemes. Steps were taken to assimilate the two constitutions. The nobles of Lithuania were put on a level with the nobles of Poland and took an equal share in the election of a king. To the Polish nobles they conceded an equal interest in the election of their own Grand Dukes. After this, Witold demanded from the Polish Senate the title of King—which was refused. Soon afterwards he died; succeeded, as Grand Duke, by his brother Swidrigal.

Witold had been a successful warrior, and had conquered Novogorod from the Russians.

Yagello left Poland with a small retinue to attend his brother's funeral. Swidrigal seized and imprisoned him as soon as the service was over. The Pope interfered for his deliverance. The Polish nobles did the same, only more effectively. Of unbounded ambition, Swidrigal attempted to incorporate Podolia and Volhynia with his own grand-dukedom. A war followed—Yagello and the Poles against Swidrigal and the Knights. Tired of his arrogant ambition, the Lithuanians themselves at length expelled him, and took his nephew Starodubski in his place.

Starodubski held his grand-dukedom as a fief under Poland, and promised never to make war except with the consent of his suzerain.

During Witold's life a great battle, to which his valour contributed, was won over the Knights, 50,000 of whom, along with their grand-master, were left dead on the field. Such are the numbers. They are always high in Polish history. However, it was a great victory, though not properly followed up. Dobrzyn and Samogitia were the districts which more especially changed hands at this time, sometimes being in those of the Knights, sometimes in those of the Poles.

Starodubski, who, like his uncles, aspired to royalty, was murdered, and Casimir, brother to Vladislas, succeeded him, aspiring to royalty also. His career, both after and before his accession to the grand-dukedom, had been eventful. The religious disturbances of Bohemia had begun, and the intolerable persecution which the followers of Huss and Jerome underwent had led to revolt; indeed, to the election of a rival king for Bohemia. This was Casimir, of whose tolerant tendencies the appointment must be taken as a measure. Vladislas supported his pretensions, and sent troops to help him. Albert, however, became the actual King.

On the death of Vladislas, who united the crowns of Hungary and Poland, Casimir was called from Lithuania to succeed him. Now was an opportunity for strengthening the overweak link which connected these two countries. With real or feigned reluctance, Casimir became King of Poland. We may almost say that he allowed the crown to be thrust upon him. Though King of Poland, he was essentially a grand duke of

Lithuania. He treated Podolia as Lithuanic, and he instigated the Tartars to an invasion of the south-eastern districts of Poland.

If Poland needed Lithuania, Lithuania stood in need of Poland, for the reign of the great Moscovite Tsar, Ivan Vasilievitsh, had begun; and, of the fierce conquerors amongst the Russian kings, Ivan Vasilievitsh was the greatest and the fiercest. He had conquered the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakan, and now retook Novogorod—a conquest of Witold's. Besides this, he attacked White Russia and Sieveria. Add to this, that Tartar allies had been called into Lithuania, that they came, and that they were unwilling to go. By assistance from Poland they were ejected.

The three next kings were three brothers, sons of Casimir. John I. (Albert) ruled first, Alexander his brother being Grand Duke. That Lithuania might keep Polish he was afterwards chosen king; indeed, it was agreed at his coronation that there should be no more Grand Dukes at all. The Lithuanian deputies should join with the Poles in the election of a king, and that king should rule over the two countries equally. In this way Alexander was a king. So slight, however, was the validity of the new arrangement, that his successor, Sigismund, was elected by the Lithuanians single-handed. The Poles confirmed the election. The haste, however, of the Lithuanians augured ill for the consolidation of the countries.

Under Sigismund II., the union between them became as complete as it was ever made. The Lithuanians, like the Poles, had two separate chambers for the management of their internal affairs, but in treaties with foreign Powers they were considered as one and indivisible—a single Republic, with a chief, elected by a Polono-Lithuanic Diet, at the head of the Executive. But Sigismund II. was the last of the Yagellos—the last, at least, of the males.

## CHAPTER V.

### Poland from Sigismund II. to the Partitions.

THE accession of Yagello under the title of Vladislas V., took place in 1386. The last of his successors in a direct line from father to son (so that there was Lithuanic blood throughout) died in 1572. There were seven kings, but only three generations.

For the general historian of Poland, there is much—very much—to be said in the notices of this period. The ethnologist, however, thinks it enough to leave Poland as he found it; to indicate a few of the important events in Europe which happened during the interval, and to remark that the details of the period are, in kind, neither more nor less than a continuation of what has preceded and a preliminary to what follows—the events which affected Poland being found in the ordinary history of Europe, especially of that of the Ottoman Turks, the Moscovite Russians, Sweden, the House of Brandenburg (which means Prussia), and Austria. Hungary, Bohemia, and Wallachia supply minor details; Denmark some indirect ones. The bearing of the Reformation (connected with all this) has also a bearing upon Poland. Still, with a few general notices, the ground may be gone over *sicco pede*. Vladislas, the son of Yagello, was called to the throne of Hungary. What he did against the Turks will be noticed elsewhere. Casimir succeeds him, succeeded by John, or Albert, in whose reign Wallachia and Moldavia take an unusual historic prominence. The effects of the Reformation need only be mentioned so far as they introduce the statement that the Germans of both the Teutonic Order and the Sword, as a general rule, adopted Protestantism, and that the Thirty Years' War brought the great Gustavus of Sweden into Livonia, Courland, Silesia, and Brandenburg. It also filled Poland with Protestantism under several denomina-

tions, some of them of which, in any country but Poland (where the union of everything which was not Romanist against everything which was, without quarrels about the minuter points of difference, was a pressing necessity) would have been of great political importance.

As a general rule every succession to the Crown added to the power of the nobles. They had only to agree upon something to the advantage of their order, and the request had the strength of a demand. In this way, privileges grew into rights, and when Sigismund died, the Crown was so purely elective that any one might be a candidate for it. There was no need that he should be a Piast; no need that he should be a Pole. Whether the fact of his being one were, in and of itself, a recommendation, or the contrary, was a point upon which there were differences of opinion amongst the electors; as well as one upon which later writers may differ. The Archbishop of Gnesna in these elections was the Interrex; the Marshal proclaimed the new King. The Diet of Election chose, and the Interrex nominated; the place was the plain of Praga. Such were the points which were settled after the death of Sigismund, when the marshal, Firley, was a Protestant. In the resolution that it should be he who should proclaim the king, we have a measure of the strength of the Dissidents. This is the name we must give them; for the class included Christians of any denomination whatever, provided they were not Roman Catholics. A Socinian was a Dissident, and a member of the Greek Church was a Dissident; and these Dissidents agreed to act together. Even a liberal Romanist might be called a Dissident.

Of these Dissidents the Greek Christians were numerous enough to take care of themselves. In Lithuania they formed a majority, and in Polish Russia nearly the whole of the population. The Protestants were far weaker, and the Socinians, though more numerous in the father-land of Socinus than elsewhere, were weaker still.

The candidates for the Crown were Ernest, Archduke of Austria; a Swedish Prince; the Czar; and Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou, who was, afterwards, Henry III. of France. He was elected; but he abandoned his Crown, and escaped from his kingdom; Stephen Batory, the Voyvod of Transylvania, was elected in his stead, and he was one of Poland's greatest kings. His acces-

sion, however, engendered complications with the Turks; and Wallachia and Moldavia became dependencies of Poland and created corresponding responsibilities. Meanwhile, to meddle with Hungary was to meddle with Austria.

Sigismund III., Batory's successor, was Crown Prince of Sweden. The great deeds of Gustavus Adolphus had brought Sweden thus far south: but the religious conditions that lay on the kings of Sweden and the kings of Poland were incompatible, and Sigismund became a Pole.

Vladislav was his son; as was Vladislav's successor John Casimir.

Michael Koributh was a Pole, elected to the surprise of himself, and to the disgrace of the republic.

A true Pole succeeded him, Sobieski, or John III.

Then came a time of tumult and dissension until the accession of Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, and the union of the two Crowns in the person of that sovereign. Up to this time, though there is much which is abnormal in the condition of Poland, there is nothing which throws her at the feet of Russia. On the contrary, the peace of Carlowitz, though won by Austria, had improved her relation to Turkey by the restoration of Podolia; whilst the service hereby conferred by Austria was scarcely an equivalent to the still greater one rendered by Sobieski when he relieved Vienna. Russia, it is true, had gained in strength; though more at the expense of Turkey than of Poland. The diplomatic position of both countries had improved; inasmuch as, by the treaty of Carlowitz, the intervention of the Western Powers in the affairs of the Porte had been recognized: and the affairs of the Porte involved those of Poland. Thus early, then, had the integrity of these two Powers been indicated as a principle in the policy of both France and England: in other words the aggressive character of Russia had been indicated. In England, however, the indication led to little in the way of diplomatic activity.

When Charles XII. of Sweden came to the throne, Augustus I., king of Saxony and Poland, though wearing the Crown of two kingdoms, wielded the power of only one. The more the Poles knew of him the less they loved him. His sensuality, his favouritism, his dependent bearing toward Russia, all lowered him in their eyes. He affronted the Poles in general

by appointing his favourite Fleming to the mastership of the horse in Lithuania, and the whole family of the Sapiehas he absolutely alienated from his allegiance. The moment that Charles appeared they devoted themselves to his service. They assisted him in his easily-won victories, and supported the candidate whom he eventually placed on the Polish throne.

Charles had ejected the Russians from Livonia, and was turning his arms towards Saxony. For having done this he has been blamed by more than one military critic. He should have left Augustus alone, and turned the whole force of his arms upon the only rival who was really formidable—Peter. Had he done this, he would have followed up his successes in Livonia and Ingria until the Czar was either permanently weakened or separated from the Saxon (Polish) alliance. Instead of this, he marched southwards; and, doubtless, his personal dislike to the King of Saxony had much to do with his movements. He justified them, however, in the way of strategics; alleging the utter faithlessness of Augustus as his motive. He could not be trusted, and would always have been dangerous in the rear.

Be this as it may, Charles overran Poland, and placed his *nominé* Stanislas Leczinsky on the throne. There were now two concurrent kings in a republic. But the battle of Pultowa, which hurt the Poles more than the Swedes, was lost, and Stanislas Leczinsky became helpless. Then, under Russian coercion, Frederic Augustus II. succeeded Augustus I., like him Elector of Saxony—then Prince Poniatovski, the favorite of Catherine of Russia, whom heralds call Stanislas Augustus—the last of the kings (if so he may be called) of Poland.

The battle of Pultowa was lost to Sweden; and with the loss of it fell the physical and moral influence of the nation, which, of all the ones in Europe, has achieved the nearest approach to what may be called a chivalrous history. The Swedish history was this, because, whilst pre-eminently Protestant, it had, for a few short years (though for a few short years only), such a king as Gustavus Adolphus, with a brave and disciplined army to lead, and a country to uphold him. Nor was he the only warrior of his family and dynasty. His predecessors and his successors were great soldiers, and some of them great generals and great administrators. The last, however, who breathed his spirit breathed it

over-hotly and over-hastily. A civilian who writes upon strategics is always like the professor or pedant who lectured to a class of which Hannibal *incognito* is said to have been one; and who, on leaving the room, said that he had never listened to so learned a fool in his life. I abstain, then, from calling him either a knight-errant, or a mere soldier. Great captains, such as Napoleon, have condemned him as a general, and respectable writers have defended him.

Nor was even the great Gustavus purely chivalric. What he wanted was a footing in Germany, and when he undertook to defend Pomerania, he made a hard bargain, and he knew that he made it. Neither was he, elsewhere, deficient in calculation. For all this, the Swedish history, of which he and Charles XII. are extreme types, is a chivalrous history in the way of an approximation—an approximation only. Except that the Protestants would have persecuted the Catholics, instead of the Catholics persecuting the Protestants, and that the Sapiehas would have overridden the Oginskis instead of the Oginskis overriding the Sapiehas, the power of Charles XII. might wax or wane without either hurting or helping Poland. His influence on the affairs of that divided country was that of an ambitious foreigner; that of the Czar was no more. The same intrigues that brought Russia, Prussia, and Austria together, might have brought together Sweden, Prussia, and Turkey, or any three members of any combination: under the policy of whom the same internal dissensions might have been fostered, the same real improvements neglected, the same intolerance exhibited, and the same mutilations undergone. It was as early as A.D. 1705—nearly seventy years before the first mutilation of Poland—that there was a king and anti-king in the country, in the persons of Frederic Augustus I. and Stanislas Leczinski; the latter, purely and simply a nominee of the King of Sweden, but better than his rival so far as his personal character was less exceptionable, and so far as he was a Pole. That he could have comported himself as a king of Poland under such a protectorate as that of Charles is as unlikely as that his protector's demands would have been moderate. No Russian or Prussian looked upon any portion of Poland which lay convenient to his territory, with a more covetous eye than Sweden looked upon the German, Polish, and Lithuanian

ports of the Baltic. Ships and sailors was what all the Swedish kings who had to do with Germany, made no secret of owning that they wanted. Land they had enough, and abundance. Their great *desideratum* was a Southern sea-board. If no liberality upon these points was exhibited by the great Gustavus, little was likely to characterize the conduct of his harsh and iron-handed successor.

This was more than sixty years before the Partition: but it was, also, more than sixty years after the idea of a Partition had been broached by Charles IX., some years before either Catherine or Maria Theresa, or Frederic of Prussia, was born. The idea, however, never took effect. It might have been better if it had done so. Perhaps, for Poland; but for England to a certainty; and not improbably, for Europe and civilization in general. Still, there would have been the sure and certain growth of Russia in the background: her sure and certain objects of ambition; and, finally, the certainty that the power as well as the will to carry them out would sooner or later arrive. In all this there would be the putting-off of the evil day. As it approached, Sweden would manœuvre, diplomatize, form combinations, persuade third parties that the integrity of Poland must be upheld; possibly tempt them into wars as successful and conclusive as the Crimean.

The influence, however, of Sweden over Polish history was annihilated on the field of Pultowa; and with the restoration of Frederic Augustus I. came the restoration of two influences other than Polish—the Saxon, to which the nation had long been accustomed, and which it was strong enough to check if inordinately exercised; and the Russian, with which it was not unfamiliar, but which had never weighed upon her with such pressure as it now exerted. The whole country was a garrison, and the soldiers were, to a great extent, foreigners. The King was a persecutor of the Dissidents. Events, which will be noticed when the history of Courland comes under consideration, tore that province from Poland, with which (though loosely) it was connected.

With the annexation of Courland to Russia Poland's dismemberment began.

In 1733, Frederic Augustus I. died, after reigning thirty-six years. Each of his successors reigned nearly as long; his son Frederic Augustus II. thirty-three, and Stanislas Augustus, *né* Poniatovski, thirty-two. Three such long reigns in succession

deserve notice: otherwise we may overlook the fact that they cover more than a century of Polish history: and overlooking this, we may make the downfall of the Republic much more sudden and much less gradual than was actually the case.

When Frederic Augustus II. succeeded his father, there was a display of national feeling, a display of faction, and an external influence. The Diet passed a resolution that no one but a Piast should be eligible; a resolution which was meant to restore Stanislas Leczinski—Charles's *nominé*. That effect should be given to this was unlikely. Both Austria and Russia supported the King of Saxony; and so did a strong party within the Republic itself. France, on the other hand, promised assistance to his rival, who was now the father-in-law to Louis XV. Nothing, however, came of it. The obstinate support of the ex-king on the part of the town of Dantzic—so honourably obstinate in other and more important sieges—along with the narrative of his escape and flight are matters for the local historian and the personal biographer. Upon the former, the patriotic Prussian may enlarge with pride. In the latter the novelist finds a parallel to the adventures of the Pretender. The upshot (however, and it came quickly) was that one of the few kings of our own degenerate age, whose physical frame might have made a Commodus jealous, or have satisfied a Messalina, ruled over the factions as a King of Poland, as an Elector of Saxony, and as a pensioner of Russia, until a finer courtier and a more decided pensioner succeeded him. He died in 1763.

This is nine years before the Partition. Let us look at the relations of the four nations most concerned in it—Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Austria. On the part of Austria there was a strong feeling against Prussia, on account of the conquest of Silesia: and there was an estrangement between Prussia and Russia. The war with Turkey was still going on, and, so far as this went, it was an element in favour of Poland, Russia being the weaker for the purposes of aggression. But her influence was great elsewhere: in Denmark, and in Sweden, through means of her diplomacy; and on the frontiers of Poland by means of her army in Courland. As for Poland itself, it was treated as a Russian province. There was supineness on the part of England, and intrigue on the part of France. Indeed, in Poland itself, France had the Radzivils and the Branitskis at the head

of her interest, the Czartorinskis, the Oginskis, and the Poniatovskis being Russian.

An alliance, however, was formed between Russia and Prussia. So far as the public conditions went, the treaty contained nothing remarkable. Each power was to keep what it had got, and, as Prussia had so lately wrested Silesia from Austria, this was an important point for Frederic. In case of an attack, each was to help the other with 1000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, unless the assailants were either the Turks or French and Russia were attacked: in which case the aid from Prussia was to be in money. The secret article was far more dangerous; dangerous, insidious, and, in its wording, odiously hypocritical. The system of free election to the Crown of Poland was guaranteed by these outside potentates with as much care as if it were one of the internal interests affecting their own kingdom; as carefully as if its integrity had been put into their charge by Poland itself; as carefully as if it, instead of being the curse of Poland, had been the bulwark of her liberties and the source of her prosperity. With such tenderness as an Englishman would treat the Freedom of the Press or the Trial by Jury in the case of his own country, with such tenderness did Catherine and Frederic treat this mischievous privilege of the free *Veto*; and that as mere amateurs or lookers-on. The Republic shall be maintained in its state of free election. It shall not be allowed for any one to make the succession hereditary. Poland shall not be stripped of this its right. Anything that even tends to strip it shall be put down by force of arms; so necessary it is to preserve this fundamental element of the Constitution. If the Poles themselves were speaking, and if the institution were a blessing, language like this would be appropriate. As it is, it is the language of Poland's worst enemies.

There was an interregnum of a year, during which the nobles at the head of the two parties were in arms. The Czartorinskis defeated the Radzivils and Branitskis who took refuge within the Turkish dominions. They had previously attacked the Russian general Chmutof and driven him to Graudenz. It was soon after the retreat of these opponents, that Poniatovski was elected, *i. e.* in September 1764. The treaty between Russia and Prussia had been signed in the foregoing April.

Three demands were now made on Poland by Russia; (1) that the Polish army should consist of 50,000 men and that an offensive and defensive alliance should be effected with Russia; (2) that certain territories on the Russian frontier should be given up; (3) that full toleration should be granted to the Dissidents. This latter was also urged by Prussia. The first of these demands was refused at once. The second was granted by the subsequent force of events. In the third lay the germ of nearly all the future troubles. Let who would make the demand for equality of rights between the Dissidents and the Roman Catholics the demand itself was not only just in itself, but essentially constitutional. It was guaranteed by one of the last treaties made with Sweden; that of Oliva, and the right was more than one hundred years old. It had, indeed, been violated, and the violation had been embodied in formal resolutions; but the treaty of Oliva (1660) not only contained an article in favour of them, but it was guaranteed by England, Brandenburg, and Denmark. The proposal, however, was received by the Diet with bigoted indignation. So far as this arose from jealousy of foreign dictation it was laudable. But jealousy of foreign dictation was anything but the sole ground of it. The subsequent machinations of Soltikov and the Confederacy of Barr are sufficient evidence to this. When the Czartorinskis submitted the bill to the Diet, the clerk was cried down, and prevented from reading the proposal, and there were some deputies who drew their swords and threatened him. Resolutions passed under the excitement of this act, resolutions which restored the odious and unconstitutional enactments of 1717 and 1736 (the years in which the conditions of the Peace of Oliva were most signally violated), were just the weapons which Catherine and Frederic wished to have put into their hands. They made them the champions of religious toleration; not exactly after the fashion of Gustavus Adolphus, but still champions in a good cause. In this way, Philip of Macedon was at the head of a religious war. He was not himself devout; but the show of devotion was good policy. Neither Frederic nor Catherine were bigots, and so far as they were truly liberal, their interference was honest. But the religion which they claimed for the Dissidents of Poland was greater than that which a Dissident from their own state religions was allowed. The Poles, however, who had yet to learn the great-

est of all revolutionary arts—the art of putting their enemies in the wrong—opposed all concessions.

The Diet of September, 1766, was now approaching; impotent for aught save dissension and the designs of Russia. The country was full of Russian troops, more than enough to overawe the Diet, more than enough to counteract the activity of the French party. And the Prussians supported them in their diplomacy: if diplomacy it may be called, which consisted in laying injunctions upon the Government. The ambassadors of the two nations, at the opening of the Diet, demanded that all the improvements which had been effected by the King and the Czartorinskis should be rescinded. Many of them *were* rescinded. Still, the institution of a system of four colleges, by which the king could obtain a greater power of administration, was retained: and the free veto which had been wholly abolished (though re-established) was re-established in a modified form. No provision, however, was made for the rights of the Dissidents.

The whole country was now broken up into confederations. Of the first two formed by the Dissidents, one had its head-quarters in Lithuania under Russian, the other at Thorn under Prussian, protection. To the first of these the Courlanders, to the second the cities of Elbing and Dantzig, attached themselves. And there were Catholic confederations to match; none, perhaps, so important and mischievous as one which is about to be formed—the confederation of Barr—but still sufficient to divide the country against itself. Schlosser writes, by the month of May (1767) they had amounted to one hundred and seventy-eight. Every one belonged to some confederation or other, except the king, and he was left alone.

The more liberal Catholics, and they were numerous, were in a degree themselves Dissidents: some of the most influential of them being members of some Dissident Confederation. To this they lent authority and influence, and the place that they held in it was high. At the head of that of Lithuania was Radzivil; Branitzki afterwards joined it. But Russia exacted from even Protestant Dissidents more than their patriotism could willingly give when she exacted concessions in the way of ordinary politics as well as in religion. And in the way of religion the Protestant Dissident must needs go farther than his Roma-

nist ally. They were all, however, coerced by Russia; some coerced, some deceived.

The general confederation had met at Warsaw; and to Warsaw the Dissident Confederacy removed from Radom, where their policy had been debated and their chief resolutions effected. Radzivil was at the head of it; and under heavy pressure on the part of Russia, he proclaimed the union of his own with the general confederation. Opposed to this demand were the Catholics in general; but (with the exception of the most fanatic of their leaders) neither hopelessly nor irreconcilably so; inasmuch as the demand was backed by the whole influence of Russia it required more than ordinary obstinacy to resist it. And here the Papal nuncio, who had previously protested against the recognition of the conditions of the Treaty of Oliva, found, as he had found before, an active abetter in Soltyk. Through him and through his adherents the union was repudiated. This was on the 12th of September, when, supported as they were by a Russian army, the Dissidents were in a position to command it. It was agreed, however, that the matter should be reconsidered on the 16th, and in the interim the leaders of the party, at once Anti-dissident and Anti-Russian, were arrested—Zaluski, bishop of Kiev, Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, the Voyvode of Cracow, the starost of Dolina, and others. This was done, because in the words of Repnin, under whose orders they were seized, they had "compromised the dignity of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Catherine, by having attacked the purity of her salutary and disinterested intentions towards the Republic." After this it was easy to pass an act of toleration, which was done in November. As a pendant to it all the old abuses of the constitution were confirmed. Never was a boon more dearly bought, or more disgracefully tendered. The bad and good which were mixed up in such different proportions in the legislation of this stormy period—the recognition of the rights of Dissidents and the old Constitution with its free veto—gives us the Polish Constitution of 1768; for the integrity of which Russia was the guarantee. So far as the rights of the Dissidents were concerned, it was guaranteed by the Protestant Powers as well; by Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Great Britain.

The policy of toleration was not the policy of France, neither was it any part of the French policy to encourage the growth of Russia.

In this direction Choiseul, the French minister of the time, saw clearly. He also saw the extent to which the weight of Turkey might be thrown in the opposite scale. A war on the Dnieper, or the Black Sea, might at any time affect a diversion in Russia, by which, as a general rule, Poland would be the gainer. A Turkish war and a rebellion on the part of the Catholics were now contemplated by the ministers of Louis XV. and the confederacy of Barr, and the campaigns that followed were the result. The Russian soldiers were now to be withdrawn from Poland; upon the withdrawal of whom, a confederacy of the extreme Romanists, represented by Pulavski, Krasinski, and others, was to be proclaimed. It was proclaimed, however, five days too soon, and the contrivers fled to Podolia. Here they organized themselves afresh, and took the name of the Confederation of Barr. They were suborned by France, they were favoured by Spain, and they were not disapproved of by Austria. They lay within a few miles of the Turkish frontier, which they might pass whenever troops were sent after them. Should such troops follow them, a war with Turkey would be the result. And it *was* the result. The confederates crossed the frontier, soldiers followed them; the Turkish soil was violated; the passions of the Sultan were inflamed by the representations of the French minister, and six weeks after the small frontier town of Balta had been burnt down, war between Russia and Turkey had begun. It began on account of the protection that had been given by the Turks to the Poles; but, before it was over, Poland had declared war against Turkey—Poland meaning Russia through Poland. The pretence was that the Turks had violated the Polish territory.

The result of this war was to put the Khanate of Crimea in the power of Russia. It existed, by sufferance, a few years longer. Its real subjugation, however, dates from the present campaign. In all this, both Austria and France were mixed-up. France subsidized the Confederates of Barr, and lent an officer destined, in the sequel, to achieve a high reputation—Dumourier.

Austria, though not as yet prominent in the transactions, had still some share in them. When Poniatovski was proposed as the Russian candidate for the Polish crown, Austria had put forward the elector Charles, son of the late king, a Saxon and a *protégé* of the Empire, which had engaged that freedom of election should be guaranteed by a German army, and that the Russian influence

should be counteracted if not diminished. But the prince died during the negotiations.

In the present war, Austria was willing to mediate, but the mediation was not of the kind that the Czarina would admit. Finally, Austria looked upon the spirit of aggrandizement exhibited by both Prussia and Russia with disapproval. For all this, there was more than enough to bring her into the field when booty had to be shared. Nor were her claims to be neglected. Meanwhile, with all her armies, Russia had enough to employ them on; for besides the Turkish war, there was Pugatsheff's rebellion, concerning which more will be said elsewhere.

Anarchy continues, and the treaty of 1772 is at hand. Opportunities are offered which no good man would have seized, and which few ambitious men would have spurned. That Frederic proposed a dismemberment is probable. The notion was in unison with his policy, and he had no principles which could engender a scruple. He was not likely to deceive himself by mistaking it for anything but what it was—a convenient way of increasing his influence in Europe. His brother is believed to have broken the matter to Catherine, who was both willing and ready to entertain the plan, though doubtful as to what Austria would think about it. Austria had the choice of three lines of action. She could stand aloof and see the thing done, but keep her hands from doing it; she could, either single-handed or through an alliance, oppose it; she could acquiesce in it, and share the spoil. The third was what was done.

The treaty was signed at St. Petersburg, August 5th, 1772. By it—

1. Prussia got Marienwerder, the Polish portion of Pomerania, Wermeland, Culm, and a part of Poland.

2. Austria got Gallicia, with parts of Sendomir, Cracow, and Podolia.

3. Russia got Polotsk, Vitepsk, Micieslaf, and part of that portion of Livonia which belonged to Poland.

Soon after this the career of Russia was arrested, and had the King of Prussia been less long-sighted or less scrupulous than he was, the fate of Poland might have been arrested also; indeed, (if we may use the word in connection with *fate*,) it might have been retrieved. Not to mention the Pugatsheff Rebellion and the

Turk war, there was a new complication; a direct alliance with Prussia, and an indirect one with Turkey. What is now the policy of England was then that of Prussia—not to let the Porte grow too weak. At present its very weakness is its strength; for it has a diplomatic value. At the time under notice, it had a material one as well; and the alliance with Prussia was to cripple Russia by keeping-up this strength. With such a view, the Prussian interest in Poland was allowed to subserve that of England; and the alliance between Poland and Russia in an offensive war against Turkey was to be prevented. Nevertheless, there was one definite object upon which Prussia was determined, and, for this, either the co-operation or the connivance of Russia was indispensable; viz., the possession of Dantzic and Thorn. For this reason, the whole diplomacy, as between England and Prussia, was insincere. If Turkey could be relieved of the pressure which would have been put upon her by the addition of the Polish armies to the Russian, well and good; but, if Russia were to be estranged by any bold or active interference, she might, for all that Prussia cared for either the Ottomans or the English, have Constantinople. Still, these manœuvres and machinations gave Poland a breathing time.

Then came those of Austria. A Saxon prince on the Polish throne would have suited Austria's interests; and, in Austria's eyes, the abolition of the electoral system (the election once having been made), and, with it, of the free Veto, would have been cheaply purchased at the price of a certain amount of reform; provided always that it was a German who wore the Crown. To this end, the abolition of the system had the concurrence of Austria. To this end, it was determined by the Diet that, even during the lifetime of the present king, his successor should be appointed. This, however, was not carried through. The Emperor died, and the pressure of their real interests brought Prussia and Russia more together. Whatever may have been the intellect, and whatever may have been the integrity of the reigning king, he was instrumental in bringing about some important reforms. A constitution which Burke could praise was given to Poland; and for a constitution to be worth the paper it was written on, we know beforehand what it must contain; viz., the abolition of, at least, the worst parts of the electoral system, and freedom of

conscience in religion. The Polish Constitution of 1792, contained this and more.

May 14, 1792. The Confederation of Targovitsh gave Russia the means of obstruction—indeed, it was a Polish Confederation with Russian interests. To this the Poles opposed three armies. Two of the names of the commanders deserve notice: one was Michael Vielhorski, of whom nothing need be said; the second was Joseph Poniatovski, a nephew of the king's; the third was Kosciusko. They were not strong enough to do much against the Russians and the Russianized Poles; yet their warfare was neither inglorious nor wholly unsuccessful. It ended, however, in the king subscribing to the conditions of the Confederation. Soon after this, Russia, Prussia, and Austria came to an understanding; but it was a secret one. A war between Prussia, Austria, and England on one side, and France on the other, gave the opportunity for this complication; for England had now fairly taken fright at the principles and the practice exhibited in the French Revolution. Indeed, on the part of Poland revolutionary, and on the part of the rest of Europe (France alone excepted), anti-revolutionary principles were at work. Prussia now found an opportunity for taking Dantzic. Thorn came to it by the treaty of October 14, 1793, and, by the details of what is called the Second Partition, the remainder of Great Poland, and part of Little Poland.

Meanwhile, the greater part of Lithuania and Volhynia became Russian.

Austria had no share in this second spoliation.

The territory of the Republic now amounted to little more than 4000 square miles.

Between the second mutilation and the third, there was an interval of about a year; but it was a year crowded with important events. Prussia made peace with France on its own account; and, by its machinations in Poland, excited the jealousy of Austria. Her first policy was to win territory from France; but it was soon discovered that Poland was an easier prey. So she kept back her opposition to Prussia, and bided her time for a share in the spoil. The Polish movements were now essentially revolutionary—revolutionary in the good sense of the word. The king was nothing, and Kosciusko was, for all practical purposes,

Dictator. But he was overpowered. The massacre of Praga under Suvarov annihilated Poland, and a third mutilation was easy. In this, Austria had a share. She took the remainder of Sendomir and Cracow; Russia, the remainder of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia; Prussia, Poland itself.

Such is the general view of a series of transactions which, falling, as they do, in the way of most historians, must needs be mentioned, and which, as often as mention is made of them, suggest strong terms of blame, and indignation; blame which is well-deserved, and indignation which is as honest as it is genuine. The current phrase in the way of vituperation is, that the Partition of Poland is the great crime in modern history. To this there is the comment, co-extensive with the text, "that it was worse than a crime, that it was a blunder." Sentiments repeat themselves; and so do the phrases that convey them: and out of this arise conventional moralities and platitudinal exhibitions of them. That the Partition was a blunder is doubtful, except so far as every deviation from the straight line of honesty is a deviation from that of policy. But, thus interpreted, the phrase is too general to be significant. That it was a blunder in the ordinary sense of the term is a doctrine of pre-eminent ambiguity. Was it one on the part of those who sinned or on the part of those who permitted them to sin? Except under some such general apophthegm as the rule *that what is best for one is best for all,* (a rule which, like the one just given, is far too wide to be applicable to every case,) it can scarcely have been a blunder on both sides. It can scarcely have been a blunder for the Russians, &c., to have weakened themselves by over-increasing their territories, and also, a blunder for France and England to have neglected to interfere.

That it was a crime is clear; but to brand it as the great and indelible crime of modern history is merely to deceive ourselves as to the average magnitude of political crimes in general. It engenders a pernicious sophistry to use extreme terms for ordinary deeds of violence or fraud. I should be happy beyond measure to think that nothing worse than the first Partition of Poland had been done by men who are defended, approved, and admired. Bad as it was, many worse things have been done, and that by men whom the Partition itself shocks and irritates.

It was a great crime; but when ordinary men act together, the fact of their mutual contact divides responsibility, blunts the moral feeling, and engenders peccadilloes—to say the least of them; and when kings and heroes, or even powerful ministers, act in concert, peccadilloes rise into crimes. The Partition of Poland was a foul affair; but there are few men in politics who have not done something, either as bad, or nearly so.

Politicians may (and do) call it a *partition;* and historians must use the word which politicians hand over to them. The men who make history will always give the language to those who write it. The registrar must use the language of the community to which he is the clerk. It is possible that my own objections to the term may arise out of a technical and professional train of thought, and that in improving it (as, of course, I think I do), I merely replace the language of courts, camps, and parliaments, by the language of the anatomical theatre or the dissecting-room. *There,* however, no one calls an amputation a *partition.* No one calls a mutilation a *partition.* To hang, draw, and quarter, to dismember the whole bodily frame, is to *partition;* between which and mere mangling there is as much difference as there is between lopping a timber-tree and cutting one down.

Nor is the difference ignored by able writers. It is not ignored by influential ones. It is not ignored by those who are so pre-eminently influential as to modify the thought, and even the language, of their times, and of posterity. I will make this plainer by laying before the reader some extracts which he has, doubtless, seen before, and which he may possibly have read with approval. It is needless to add that the writer, with all his high qualities, both moral and intellectual, was honourably distinguished by none more than his burning hatred to injustice, no matter how successful or how high-handed. It is Lord Macaulay speaking of the partition of the Spanish empire as proposed by William III., from whom I take the following remarks.

The long negotiation touching the Spanish succession had at length been brought to a conclusion. Tallard had joined William at Loo, and had there met Heinsius and Portland. After much discussion, the price in consideration of which the House of Bourbon would consent to waive all claim to Spain and the Indies, and to support the pretensions of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was definitely settled. The Dauphin was to have the province of Guipuscoa, Naples, Sicily, and some small Italian islands, which were part of the Spanish monarchy.

The Milanese was allotted to the Archduke Charles. As the Electoral Prince was still a child, it was agreed that his father, who was then governing the Spanish Netherlands as viceroy, should be Regent of Spain during the minority. Such was the first Partition Treaty, a treaty which has been, during five generations, confidently and noisily condemned, and for which scarcely any writer has ventured to offer even a timid apology, but which it may, perhaps, not be impossible to defend by grave and temperate argument.

Such is the matter; the reflections upon which run thus:—

It has been said to have been unjust that three States should have combined to divide a fourth State without its own consent; and, in recent times, the partition of the Spanish monarchy, which was meditated in 1698, has been compared to the greatest political crime which stains the history of modern Europe, the Partition of Poland. But those who hold such language cannot have well considered the nature of the Spanish monarchy in the seventeenth century. That monarchy was not a body pervaded by one principle of vitality and sensation. It was an assemblage of distinct bodies, none of which had any strong sympathy with the rest, and some of which had a positive antipathy for each other. The partition planned at Loo was, therefore, the very opposite of the partition of Poland. The partition of Poland was the partition of a nation. It was such a partition as is effected by hacking a living man limb from limb. The partition planned at Loo was the partition of an ill-governed empire which was not a nation. It was such a partition as is effected by setting loose a drove of slaves who have been fastened together with collars and handcuffs, and whose union has produced only pain, inconvenience, and mutual disgust. There is not the slightest reason to believe that the Neapolitans would have preferred the Catholic king to the Dauphin, or that the Lombards would have preferred the Catholic king to the Archduke. How little the Guipuscoans would have disliked separation from Spain and annexation to France, we may judge from the fact that, a few years later, the States of Guipuscoa actually offered to transfer their allegiance to France, on condition that their peculiar franchises should be held sacred. One wound the partition would undoubtedly have inflicted, a wound on the Castilian pride. But surely the pride which a nation takes in exercising over other nations a blighting and withering dominion, a dominion without prudence or energy, without justice or mercy, is not a feeling entitled to much respect. And even a Castilian, who was not greatly deficient in sagacity, must have seen that an inheritance claimed by two of the greatest potentates in Europe, could hardly pass entire to one claimant, that a partition was, therefore, all but inevitable, and that the question was, in truth, merely between a partition effected by friendly compromise, and a partition effected by means of a long and devastating war.

I do not pretend to say that the parallel between the proposal of William runs on all-fours with those of the Czarina and Frederic. Such parallels never occur in real history, however much they may be affected in books. The elements of the Polish Republic were far more compact than those of the Spanish empire; indeed, those of the latter were pre-eminently heterogeneous. A Lombard, for instance, was farther from an Asturian, in all that constitutes

nationality, than a Pomeranian from a Lithuanian. In Poland, too, there was no such conflict of claims as those which existed between the Dauphin, the Emperor, and the Elector of Bavaria. Finally, there was no question so threatening to Europe as the union of two such Powers as either France and Spain, or Spain and Austria, under a single crown. It is possible, too, that the active anarchy of Poland was attended with less internal weakness than the decrepit anarchy of Spain.

Allowance may be made for all this; yet the two cases are alike in kind, though not in degree; sufficiently alike, at least, to forbid us throwing them into two different and extreme categories. Few look at William III. with the very favourable eyes of our late lamented historian, so that few defend his proposed partition wholly and heartily. Yet it was more right than wrong. As such, it improves the view that must be taken of even its distant analogues.

I do not defend the parallel *in toto*. Neither can I duly measure one most important element in it, viz. the wishes of the populations which the Partition, when it was suggested, would transfer. What is known about the public feeling upon the question of annexation to Russia on the part of the people of Vitepsk and Polotsk during the reign of Stanislas Augustus? What about the Prussian predilections of the Warmeland and Nattangen farmers? Who can say what the Russniaks of Gallicia thought about the relative merits of Austrian and Polish government? The current complaints have come from the Poles, rather than from those with whom they had to part. But it is clear that we must look at the parts removed, as well as the parts from which they are taken. If Poland is deprived of Lithuania, Lithuania is deprived of Poland. To ignore this distinction, where there is anything like equality, is to omit half the elements of the case. The complaints of East Prussia and Lithuania in a true grievance are the proper complement to the complaints of Poland. Yet they are not heard either so loudly or so long; and there is but little evidence that they ever were heard at all as the voices of nations indignant at being dismembered.

I submit, then, that what is found in the preceding extracts about the want of any pervading vitality and sensation in the Spanish monarchy, and what is said about the "assemblage of dis-

tinct bodies, none of which had any strong sympathy with the rest, and some of which had a positive antipathy to each other," applies, *in some degree*, to the Polish domains: and I leave it to any one who looks at the map with a fair amount of ethnological and historical knowledge, to infer that the first partition of Poland was *not* the "partition of a nation," and *not* the "hacking a living man limb by limb,"—at least, so far as that proposed for Spain was not. I submit that for every Neapolitan who would have "preferred the Catholic king to the dauphin," there was a Lithuanian who would have liked the Czarina as well as Stanislas Augustus, and a German who would have preferred Frederic to him. Of the Gallicians who were made over to Austria, I cannot say as much; for, although we separate Gallicia Proper from Lodomiria—the former being truly Polish, the latter Russniak or Ruthenian—in Gallicia a real violation of the body and life of Poland was effected; and that largely.

That the Polish pride was as susceptible as the Spanish is likely enough. But pride is a bad councillor, and wins but few advocates amongst impartial lookers-on. Yet it was as easy for a sagacious Pole to see that the Germans of East Prussia and the Lithuanians of Vitepsk were not likely to be retained as true and genuine Poles, as it was for a sagacious Spaniard to see that an Italian of the Milanese was no good Castilian.

The sagacious Spaniards, however, were but few in number; though the plan was detected.

Quiros, the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, followed the trail with such skill and perseverance that he discovered, if not the whole truth, yet enough to furnish materials for a despatch, which produced much irritation and alarm at Madrid. A council was summoned, and sat long in deliberation. The grandees of the proudest of courts could hardly fail to perceive that their next sovereign, be he who he might, would find it impossible to avoid sacrificing part of his defenceless and widely-scattered empire in order to preserve the rest; they could not bear to think that a single fort, a single islet, in any of the four quarters of the world was about to escape from the sullen domination of Castile. To this sentiment all the passions and prejudices of the haughty race were subordinate. "We are ready," such was the phrase then in their mouths, "to go to any body, to go to the dauphin, to go to the devil, so that we all go together."

The feeling in Poland was the same. In the Polish feeling, however, Europe participates. This is partly because the details and the spirit of the partition were worse, and partly because the three Partitions are generally dealt with as one. If we do this,

we alter the conditions of the question—indeed, we justify the term Partition. Make it up out of the three mutilations, and it is correct. But this is not the way in which the matter is viewed. *The* Partition of Poland is the first.

Now it is to the first, and to the first alone, that the present criticism applies, and its application tells us that, as far as the distinction drawn by the partizans of William III. between Spain itself and Spain's outlying dependencies holds good in principle, so far will a similar principle hold good for the Partition of '72—though not to the same extent. Of the parts taken away from Poland, it was only a fraction which was truly Polish. Such was Cracow; such was Sendomir; such was the *western* part of Gallicia. All these fell to the share of Austria; and, in all these, there was the actual violation of Poland itself. Cracow, perhaps, notwithstanding the peculiarity of its jurisdiction as a Hanse town, was more Polish than even Warsaw itself. In Sendomir, too, the *Non*-polish element was at a *minimum*. But the *eastern* half of Gallicia was Russinian, Ruthenian, or Russniak; and the name it bore—Lodomiria—was taken from the name of a Russian king. Podolia was even less Polish and more Russniak than Lodomiria.

In Prussia's share, no portion of the spoil was either wholly Polish or even more Polish than German—except, perhaps, the town and district of Culm. East Prussia was then, as now, German in respect to its commerce, wealth, and intelligence; whilst, in the eastern divisions of it, at least, the native population was neither German nor Polish, but Prussian Proper—and the Prussians Proper were Lithuanians. It was to Lithuania rather than to either Germany or Poland that the ethnological affinities of East Prussia attached themselves. At the same time, there was a deep fringe of Polish occupancy along the southern frontier: and there was much Polish blood, and (perhaps) some Polish nationality in Pomerania. I commit myself, however, to the statement that in all the districts taken by Prussia the German element preponderated.

Of what went to Russia no part was Polish at all. What Russia got was certain districts which, so far as they were other than Lithuanic, were exclusively Russian. Of evidence that any one of the transferred countries exclaimed against the transfer (or

even regretted it) not a tittle has been adduced—and, with the exception of Sendomir, Cracow, and the eastern part of Gallicia, I doubt whether any of them were dissatisfied. Certain it is that some of them may be called *portions of an ill-governed empire* rather than *nations*. What Prussia took was the most Protestant portion of a kingdom in which toleration for Protestantism had always been demanded, had often been promised, and, except under foreign coercion, had never been granted. What Russia took was a vast block of territory in which the Greek Church was predominant; but in which the Greek creed was only tolerated when Russia herself enforced the toleration. For Austria, there were no religious grievances to mitigate and no pressure on the conscience to remove. The Polish Government, however, was wholly insufficient for the protection of the transferred provinces against the Turks: and, though it is true, that from this side of Turkey little danger was now to be apprehended, the removal of it is no measure of the strength of Poland. What it really measures is the weakness of Turkey. It was Russia, however, that weakened her. That Poland could protect what she held in either Podolia, or Volhynia, few, who know what her condition was, will believe.

I am not defending the Partition; nor am I inspired with the ambition of changing the term under which it is talked about. I only desire to cut down the magnitude of a great crime to its proper dimensions; and, in doing this, to show the class of actions to which it belongs. The mere personal question as to who first suggested it is a small one. We have seen that partitions of some kind have been recognized by such princes as William III.; and we may also see, that at the very best, partitions are suspicious pieces of policy. The least blameworthy are not so good, and the most flagitious are not so bad, as the world makes them.

Neither am I desirous of effecting a just and righteous distribution of the several shares of blame due to the three contracting Powers. The part that Austria took was certainly the most gratuitous, and the one which might most easily have been avoided. To Russia, Lithuania; to Prussia, the parts between the Vistula and Niemen were, in every way, of more importance than Gallicia or Podolia was to Austria. In East

Prussia and Lithuania there was, at least, a notable mass of German Protestants for Prussia, and of Greek-Church Russians for Russia to be interested in. In Gallicia and Podolia there was nothing that appealed to any feeling on the part of Austria but the coarsest. She coveted the salt-mines of Wielicza; and she was unwilling lest Russia and Prussia should enrich themselves at the expense of Poland, whilst she did not. She had nothing better than this in the way of motive. There were neither Germans nor Hungarians in Gallicia: and there were no co-religionists with the Romanist Emperor of Austria, who were not also co-religionists with the Romanist King of Poland. The insufficiency of motive is the chief *gravamen* against Austria.

As compared with Austria, Prussia and Russia had definite and direct temptations. The secret article in an earlier Treaty between Russia and Prussia gives the measure of their craft and falsehood. In it is recognized the most wicked of all political maxims, viz. the principle of preventing improvements in a State foreign to one's own for the sake of keeping it weak. This was what was done with the Elective principle, as opposed to the Hereditary: the Elective principle which was so carefully looked-after by the two sovereigns who, according to every principle of law and justice, had nothing to do with it. This, too, was what was done when the integrity of the free *Veto* was insisted on. For this, Catherine seems to have been the chief stickler. Frederic, however, seems to have been the original proposer.

Be all this as it may, the Partition of Poland under Frederic and Catherine was not the *first;* nor was either Russia or Prussia the first Power that thought of it. When Sweden was strong and hostile, Swedish kings had gone far in the same direction. Let us look at what happened in the reign of John Casimir.

Sigismund III., when Crown Prince of Sweden, had been elected to the throne of Poland; the throne of Poland requiring a Roman-Catholic King, that of Sweden a Lutheran. That the earlier election barred the subsequent one is clear. The Crown of Sweden was made absolutely impossible to the Swedish Crown-Prince; and, as this was in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the complication was not likely to be got over. Sigismund, then, never reigned in Sweden: though two of his sons reigned in Poland. His *immediate* successor, however, was

Ladislas VII., a tolerant and energetic king, who died without issue; and whose death was followed by an interregnum; an interregnum during the horrors and dangers of the famous Kosak war under the terrible Bogdan. Of this, however, a fuller notice will be given elsewhere. The candidates for the Crown were the Czar Alexis, the father of Peter the Great; the Voivode of Transylvania, Ragotski; and two sons of Sigismund—Swedes in blood and politics, both ecclesiastics, and both desirous of obtaining from the Pope a dispensation which should allow them to marry. The one was the Bishop, who afterwards reigned as John III.; the other was John Casimir, who was also suitor to Sigismund's widow. He was a Cardinal: but had resigned his high office for a higher one—for it was upon him that the election fell. This is that Cardinal King, whom Mazeppa, in his youth, according to Byron, served as a page; and it is possible that it is only from the notice of him in Byron's poem, that the majority of readers know anything about him. The little, however, that is thus known of him is inaccurate; in other words it is not known at all. "John Casimir," says the old hetman:—

John Casimir, I was his page—
Six summers in my early age,
A learned monarch, sooth, was he;
And most unlike your Majesty.
He made no wars, and did not gain
New realms to lose them back again;
And, save debates in Warsaw's Diet,
He reigned in most unseemly quiet.
Not that he had no cares to vex;
He loved the muses and the sex;
And sometimes these so froward are,
They made him wish himself at war.
But when the fit was off he took
Another mistress or new book.
And then he gave prodigious fetes,
All Warsaw gathered at his gates, &c.

He certainly loved the sex; and that not wisely but too well: for it was an intrigue with his Chancellor's wife which made the last drop of his troubles run over, and helped, *inter alia*, to bring upon him a war with Sweden. When the king of that country died, and the Crown from which John Casimir, as a Roman-Catholic King of Poland, was debarred, became vacant, the injured hus-

band fled to Sweden and returned with the Swedish king at the head of the army. This was after the death of Christina, when John Casimir protested against the election of the Duke of Sudermannia as her successor. Here, however, we anticipate. Casimir's troubles had burst upon him from another quarter—from more quarters than one.

In the first place, there was the Kosak war; the Kosak leader, Bogdan, having possessed himself of the whole of the Ukraine, and overrun Red Russia. Arians, Socinians, Anabaptists, Protestants, and Greeks, had flocked to his standard; seeking under it relief from the oppression of the Romanists, and vengeance against the Jesuits, who were the instigators and supporters of it. The peasants, oppressed by the Jewish usurers, had done the same: and so had done, from the love of plunder and other motives, whole hordes of Crimean and Bessarabian Tartars. It was against the Jews and Jesuits that their fury burned the hottest. Then there was the insurrection of the serfs, whom Bogdan, as he marched over a tract of blood and fire through Gallicia, had brought to his standard. Then there was commotion upon commotion, and faction upon faction, within the kingdom itself. There was the Chancellor's party, and there was a party to each palatine. Leopol (Lemberg) had opened its gates to Bogdan; Zamosc, however, bravely and obstinately resisted him. As soon as the king was crowned, he moved to the relief of that town: and his negotiations would have succeeded if it had not been for the perfidy of Visnoviecki, the General of Lithuania. The assault had been countermanded; when Visnoviecki attacked the camp of the Kosaks, who, trusting to an armistice, were wholly unprepared for the defence of it, and committed a terrible slaughter. We can never believe the number of Polish battles. One hundred thousand—one hundred and sixty thousand—three hundred and forty thousand—are to be found as valuations of the combined armies which Bogdan and his ally, the Tartar Khan, brought together on the plain of Zborov. Policy, however, effected what even Polish valour would have found it impossible to do by arms. The Tartar was prevailed upon to withdraw. A treaty was made: which the Diet repudiated. The armies met again: the Poles amounting (according to the national calculation) to one hundred thousand, the enemy to treble that number. Bogdan was worsted;

and he retreated—but with his face to the foe. His son, meanwhile, was on his way to Moldavia to be married. Forty thousand Poles attacked him; and were cut to pieces. Kaminiec was then invested: and, in one of numerous obscure actions connected with this campaign, Bogdan's son was killed. The father now applied to the Czar, and offered to become his vassal if two hundred thousand Russians were poured into Lithuania. After some real or affected hesitation, Alexis accepted his proposal; and overran Smolensko, Mohilef, Vitepsk, Polotsk, Severia, and Semigallia.

It was at this juncture that the King of Sweden landed in Pomerania. The Greek Catholics had joined the Czar; the Protestants flocked to Charles; the Anabaptists and the extreme Dissidents had long ago crowded the tents of Bogdan. First at Warsaw, then at Cracow, then at Leopol did Charles show himself at the head of a victorious and ever-swelling army: the King of Poland having fled to Silesia. Then it was that a partition was proposed. The Elector of Brandenburg was to have an accession on the side of Prussia. Ragotski, the Voivode of Transylvania, was to have another portion. Russia had already a strong grip on Lithuania. The fact itself was determined on; and the name Partition was given to it in a speech by Lubomirski when denouncing it in the Diet.

Still it failed of effect. Holland, the Empire, and Denmark interposed. The Elector of Brandenburg himself either ceased to press, or opposed, it. Europe, indeed, may be said to have forbidden it; the most effective of the Powers who then prevented what, in 1772, France and England could *not* prevent, being Denmark—the snake that bites Sweden in the heel. Sweden was invaded; and the Elector of Brandenburg was released from doing homage for his fiefs in Pomerania. He also had Lauemburg and Butov granted him. All claims on the part of John Casimir on the Swedish crown were renounced and the greater part of Livonia was ceded. The peace of Oliva was the result: a peace to which allusion has often been made already, to which allusion may be made again; inasmuch as it is the treaty by which it was accompanied which ensured religious toleration to the Dissidents. How its conditions in this respect were kept we have seen.

That the condition of Poland at this time was, in many respects, even worse than it was in 1772 is apparent. On the other hand, the conditions in her favour were different. She had great generals—Lubomirski, Czarnicki, and (then rising into renown) Sobieski, her future king. The enemy, too, was Sweden, against whom Denmark could be more effectively pitted than any Power in '72 could be pitted against Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Finally, there were no such sovereigns in Europe as Catherine and Frederic on any European throne.

The conditions, then, were different. Still, the fact of (at least) an inchoate partition was real. It came from Sweden; and the then King of Sweden was not the first of his dynasty that had proposed it. Who did so first is uncertain. It is only certain that so great and good a King as Gustavus Adolphus entertained the idea of a Partition of some kind.

So much for the so-called Partition of 1772. Of the other two nothing in extenuation can be said. The second of them, more especially, was the flight of greedy vultures to a stricken quarry—bleeding, yet sensitive.

## CHAPTER VI.

Two Episodes.—Poland as a bulwark against Turkey.—The Campaigns of 1443 and 1683.

HAVING now brought down our very general sketch of the history of Poland to the time when that once formidable country no longer exercises any independent influence upon the history of Europe, we pause to take a cursory retrospect, and to select from among the numerous wars which either illustrate or deform her heroic career two which have a special bearing upon the objects of the present work. It should be remarked that they are two, and two only. That they belong to a series which, if exhibited in its full detail, would contain other narratives of the same kind is true. The events, however, which they would deliver would be the same with those to which we now refer in kind only. In degree, they would fall far short of them in magnitude, in importance, in their bearing upon our sympathies with the old and new sufferings of Poland, and in every other element of historic interest. I allude to two great occasions—*the* two great occasions—on which, when the proud power of the Ottoman Turks was as formidable as it is now contemptible and when their temper was as aggressive as it is now passive, the safety of Eastern Europe, and perhaps of Christendom at large, was preserved, not by the normal bulwarks which Austria is supposed to constitute, but by the voluntary chivalry, the military skill, and the undeniable courage of a nation that lay wide away from the scene of danger, had little to gain as the reward of success, and as little to lose as the penalty of inaction. Twice when Poland might safely have looked on the dangers of her neighbours with indifference did she help them both readily and effectively; and in serving them served Christianity and civilization at large.

Admitting that such was the case, I have no inclination to decry the feeling that honours in the present Poles the descendants of a population of warriors whom many have called the champions of Christendom. Whatever maxims of statesmanship,

whatever cold utilitarianism, whatever extreme forms of the *summum jus* or the *summa injuria* we may set against the sympathies that the belief in such services excite—however much we may be as unwilling to admit the charitable principle of vicarious rewards as we are loath to recognize the malignant theory of vicarious punishment—however much we may exclude retrospective sentiment in our estimate of human affairs—great deeds done in distant times cast the halo of their glory before them; and as it is with Greece and Italy, so is it with Poland.

Nevertheless, the measure of such great deeds must be taken with care and accuracy; and the share in them which belongs to others truthfully awarded. It does no good, but, on the contrary, much harm, to run into metaphorical generalities or to overstate cases: especially when an over-statement may lead not only to a contradiction but to a counter-statement. To any over-hasty advocate of Poland's claims on the score of her services against the Infidel, the too true answer, which his exaggeration would provoke, would be that, taking their history altogether, the Poles and Turks have oftener been allies than enemies. Nor is this extraordinary. Still less is it blameworthy. If alliance with a Mahometan Power, never tolerant and once formidable, be a crime, who are so criminal as our own countrymen? As a general rule, then, the antagonism to Turkey on the part of Poland is a fiction.

Two great wars, however, are realities. Yet even those we may overvalue as measures of the services of Poland. In the first the protagonist is no Pole. He is more of a Hungarian than aught else, but certainly no Pole. In the second, however, both the army and the hero are Poles. The first of the great occasions on which Poland stood between Mahometanism and Christianity was in the wars of John Corvinus, better known as Huniades. The second was when Sobieski performed the thankless service of relieving Vienna, a second time besieged, and endangered.

It was in the time of Amurath II: that the events of the first great campaign took place. "Sultan Murad, or Amurath," wrote Gibbon, "lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious,

charitable: a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or sciences; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath; Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the Prophet, and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem."

When this great Sultan ascended the throne, it cannot be denied that, compared with what it was both a little before and a little after his time, the power and prestige of the Ottomans were diminished. The bow was somewhat strained. Still it would bear a strain. Impetuous, proud, and fiery, the Turk exulted in an excess of strength. The great battle gained by Timúr over Bajazet had neither broken nor permanently diverted the stream of conquest that was setting in the direction of Constantinople. The victory of Angora was the heaviest blow that had been given; but the captivity of the Sultan was its chief result. There had been wars between his sons and a period when no one could say who was the real Sovereign. There was always an enemy in the background in the allied dynasty of Caramania. There was Byzantine gold and Byzantine intrigue; but there was no warlike spirit in the hearts of the people, and there was no general, much less a hero, amongst the emperors. Servia had thrown off its allegiance; there was the spirit of a guerilla warfare in Albania; there was boldness enough in Venice to attempt a recovery of Thessalonica. But, in all this, there was nothing that materially weakened the Ottoman power. It had been formidable under Bajazet, and it was formidable under Amurath. Constantinople had been besieged by him; and in this we get a measure of his strength and his ambition. A crusade was what he was to be checked by; and in this we get a measure of the extent to which kings and emperors were unable to cope with him single-handed.

The faith of Islam, though not burning with the fiery fanaticism of the immediate followers of the Prophet, was still fresh and sanguine; and, even at this early period, the Ottoman Turks had

been taught to look upon themselves as the representative people not only of their race but of their religion. It was they with whom the mission to conquer was most especially connected with the mission to propagate the true faith. There were Mahometan conquerors elsewhere; none more fierce, or more bloody, than Timúr. Elsewhere, too, there were formidable dynasties of the Turk blood—what more so than that of the Mamlúkes in Egypt? But no Mahometans and no Turks, however powerful and however ambitious, were at one and the same time great conquerors, and great conquerors on the Christian soil of Europe. Tamerlane had overrun a great part of Asia. The immediate successors of Tshingiz-Khan had carried the dreaded name of Tartar as far, into Europe, as Germany on the west, and Livonia on the north. But Tamerlane had left Europe in peace; and the successors of Tshingiz had cared little about the Koran. That there was one God, and that Mahomet was his Prophet was, doubtless, the ruling creed amongst their heterogeneous armies. But they seem to have cared little about the promulgation of it. As far as any Mahometanism was propagated by these fierce barbarians, they might as well have been what they were at the beginning, Shamanists and Fire worshippers, or what they are now, Shamanists and Buddhists; so little did they use the sword for the purposes of conversion. They used it freely; but only for the legitimate purposes of robbery and murder. The Turks, on the other hand, were burning to insult the religion of Europe and to diffuse their own. War, the business of the Janizaries, was their duty as well. Whether we take the earlier or the later date for the institution of them, they were in full vigour under Amurath the Second; and constituted a "standing army of regularly paid and disciplined infantry and horse, a full century before Charles VII. of France established his fifteen permanent companies of men-at-arms, which are generally regarded as the first standing army in modern history." * Whilst the Janizaries were paid, another large portion of the army had lands given them on

* Sir E. Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks, chap. 1. In attributing the organization of the Janizaries to Alaeddin, the vizier of Orchan, he writes: "It was by his advice, and that of a cotemporary Turkish statesman, that the celebrated corps of Janissaries was formed,—an institution which European writers erroneously fix at a later date, and ascribe to Amurath the First."

a military tenure; and this taught them not only to preserve old conquests but to aspire to new ones.

Over their own kinsmen in Asia Minor, especially over the Turks of Karamania, victories had been won at sundry times and at divers places, fully sufficient to stimulate the taste for war, to keep their discipline intact, and to show that, of all their congeners, the Osmanlis were the ones to whom the great glories of their blood and lineage were destined. Over the Constantinopolitan Romans (for this is what we may by courtesy call them) battle after battle had been won; and, though the second and last siege of Constantinople had yet to be attempted and succeeded in by Amurath's successor, Amurath himself had planted the Crescent within sight of her walls. Indeed he had pressed a siege towards—but not to—a conclusion. An embassy from the Emperor had been dismissed with contempt, and twenty thousand of Amurath's best troops had assembled before the Capital. The little of Rumelia beyond the walls, that remained to the Emperor, had been given over to the fire and the sword; and an embankment within a bow-shot from the city wall, from the sea to the Golden Horn, faced the whole landward side of the city. Under cover of this the walls were attempted both by storming parties and mines; and (an important fact as a measure not only of the valour of the Ottomans but of their skill) cannon were fired against them. The treasure of the city was promised to the true believers who should enter it. The day and hour on which it was to fall had been announced by dervishes, whose prophecies were competent to form their accomplishment. The siege, however, was raised.*

The early victories, however, of the Ottomans in Europe had been won not only over degenerate Greeks, but over the braver populations of Servia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia—some of the hardiest and most warlike in Europe. The league that the King of Servia had formed against Amurath I. was irretrievably broken on the field of Kossova; where Lazarus, the Servian King, was brought captive into the presence of his conqueror, who died in pronouncing the orders for his execution. To his son, however, he gave

* See, for a graphic account of the details of this siege, Sir E. Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks, chap. 4.

his sister as a wife, and no Mahometan fought under a suzerain with greater loyalty and valour than Lazarovitsh.

Bulgaria had yielded a little before Servia: Wallachia soon after. A more numerous, though not a braver, nation than that of the Servians was the next to fall.

It was a Crusade that brought the bravest of the warriors of Europe, both of France and the Empire, from the northern slopes of the Alps, and from the shores of the German Ocean to the bloody field of Nicopolis. It was Hungary that was threatened; but it was no mere Hungarian war. At least it was not by Hungarian valour alone—though this was not wanting—that Hungary was to be defended. Through Boniface IX., through the King of France, and through the Emperor, the King of that country, Sigismund, was sufficiently successful in his representations of the danger which from his own frontier overshadowed the whole of Christendom to create a spirit through Western Europe that simulated the zeal of the true Asiatic Crusades. We know much of the detail of the great armament thus created from Froissart, and the names read like the roll of Battle Abbey or the lists of the warriors who fought under Louis IX. —so thoroughly are they those of the nobility and chivalry of France. That they take undue prominence is likely; for the Poles and Hungarians bore harsh names, and, to a great extent,

> ——illacrymabiles
> Urgentur, ignotique longa
> Nocte jacent.

However, the son of the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, who led the French detachment, was to "break the force of Bajazet in Hungary, and, when this was done, was to advance to Constantinople, cross the Hellespont, enter Syria, gain the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels."

The names of the Germans who joined the march are equally numerous and important. If there were three cousins of the French King amongst a crowd of nobles on the one side, there was the Grand-master of the Teutonic Order and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria on the other—full of confidence, who boasted that "if the sky should fall they would uphold it on the points of their lances."

*Diis aliter visum est.* Sigismund himself escaped; so did a few others. But the bulk of the army was cut to pieces at Nicopolis, and the mass of the captives was murderously butchered after the battle. "Three knights, of whom Sir James de Helly was one, were brought before Bajazet and the Count de Nevers, who was asked which of the three he wished should go to the King of France and to his father the Duke of Burgundy. Sir James de Helly had the good fortune to be made choice of, because the Count de Nevers was before acquainted with him. He therefore said to the Sultan,—'Sir, I wish that this person may go to France from you and from me!' This was accepted by Bajazet, and Sir James de Helly remained with him and the other French lords; but the two unsuccessful knights were delivered over to the soldiery who massacred them without pity." *

During the thirty years that elapsed between the battle of Nicopolis and the next great outbreak of hostilities Mahomet had succeeded Amurath, and Amurath II. Mahomet.

> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry, Harry.
> *Henry IV.*

With a name in a form thus familiar, we may follow Gibbon, retaining it instead of the more correct form Murad. Murad, however, or Amurath, is now the Sultan: and the King of the Poles is Ladislas (I again give the more incorrect form in preference to either Vladislas or Vladislav) the Sixth—the son of Ladislas Yagello, the husband of Hedvig and the first of the Lithuanian dynasty.

The two great kingdoms that lay between him and the Ottomans were now, either more or less, tributaries to the Sultan: and Poland was on the very edge of the whirlpool. In this there was a reason why she should arm herself.

> —— tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

The party-wall was smouldering. More than this, Albert, King of Bohemia and Hungary, had died without leaving any born son behind him: though he left his widow Elizabeth with a fair chance of giving birth to a posthumous one. And this is what she did. At first she put forward on his behalf a claim for the

* Sir E. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, chap. 3.

Crown: but the days of the early Ottoman power were not the days when the government of such a country as Hungary could be committed to an infant or a regent. There was, indeed, one man in the kingdom who would have guarded both the child and the kingdom with skill, bravery, and integrity: the famous Huniades. Huniades, however, recommended that his countrymen should choose a king who could defend them, and bring with him as much power as he took. He was then an inferior officer. Afterwards, though he never sat on a throne, he both approached and deserved one, and, like our own John of Gaunt, he was the father of a king, though never a king himself.

It was Ladislas whom Huniades pointed out, and it was Ladislas on whom the election fell. He appointed a regency, and accompanied the Hungarian deputies to Buda. Soon after this the campaign began. The proportion that the Polish army bore to the Hungarian (the crown of Bohemia which Albert had worn along with that of Hungary had gone elsewhere, so that only two out of three of this triumvirate of kingdoms were united) is unknown: but, large or small, it was like the Argive contingent at Troy. It had, at best, but an Agamemnon at its head. The Achilles was from Hungary. Whether he was Magyar in blood is doubtful. According to one account, his father was a Wallachian, his mother a Greek. According to another, he was the son of King Sigismund and a fair Wallachian named Morsine. With foolish flattery, provided that the story was ever seriously meant to be believed, the cotemporary historians found in his name, Corvinus, a connection with the Valerii of Rome. Gibbon derives it from a Wallachian village. Philip de Comines calls him the Chevalier Blanc de *Valaigne*—the plain, literal, and grammatical meaning of which word is not Wallachia but Volhynia. Wallachia, however, is what is meant. It is not many great names that the Danubian Principalities can boast, and this is our excuse for enlarging upon the origin of the greatest of them. Huniades is ranked by Sir William Temple, in his Essay on Heroic Virtue, among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown: Belisarius, Narses, Gonsalvo de Cordova, William, first prince of Orange, Alexander, Duke of Parma, and George Castriotes, or Scanderbeg, being the other six.* It is with

* Gibbon, chap. 67, and note.

this last, that Huniades is generally associated, and though the war in which Huniades and Ladislas acted together was not one in which Scanderbeg took a part, his exploits were nearly coincident with it in point of time. Hence, any credit which is to be awarded to the warriors of the fifteenth century for stemming the stream of Turkish conquest must, in some degree, be shared by the brave Albanian. In his youth Huniades had served in Italy and Croatia. In the year in which Amurath retired from Bel- A.D.
grade he relieved Hermanstadt, and won another battle at 1442.
Vasag. He stained his successes by cruelty: still, there were successes. Unless belied in a story that runs in his name, he would have been an intolerant conqueror. When the Servian chief, George Brankovitsh inquired of him what he intended to do in respect to the two religions, the Roman Catholic and the Greek, in case he proved victorious, he answered that he should compel all the country to become Romanist. The story further adds that the same question was put to the Sultan, who replied that he would build a church near every mosque and leave the people free to bow in the mosques or cross themselves in the churches according to their inclinations or their consciences. The Servians who heard this preferred the Sultan to the Hungarian. The Turks called him *Jancus Lain*, or *Wicked John*, and, *secundum artem*, frightened their children with his name. One great battle at Varna he lost; perhaps when it might have been won. At another, at Kossova, which was lost, he was present: though not in command. In every other engagement he was successful; and all his engagements were well-timed and of historical importance. His last act was the defence of Belgrade against Mahomet II. The Ottomans, after a siege of forty days, had already begun to enter the town, when Huniades relieved it and forced them to raise the siege. This was the last act of his life. Mahomet, when he heard of his death, regretted that the only adversary who had foiled him should be removed from his path before he could be revenged on him.

The campaign of 1443 is the campaign of an heterogeneous armament. It is a Crusade, preached up by the Cardinal Cesarini, equally well or better known as Cardinal Julian, and licensed or approved by Pope Eugenius. The Cardinal himself fought in it like an ordinary officer, and has given us in his letters some of the

most important notices concerning it. He fell in it. How he comported himself, as a priest and Christian, in other matters connected with it, we shall soon see. The Servians had risen in rebellion. The Greek Emperor was to guard the Bosphorus and sally from Constantinople. The hereditary enemy of the Ottomans, the Prince of Karamania, himself a Turk and a Mahometan, was to co-operate with these and other Christian Powers. Such, at least, was the programme. The real work was done by the Poles and Hungarians—by Ladislas and Huniades. The unscrupulous eloquence of the Cardinal had done much to bring the army together: but the fame of Huniades, which attracted men to his person, and the prestige of his name which satisfied them to act under him, had done more.

On the 3rd of November, 1443, was fought the first great battle of the campaign—a campaign in which there were Servian, Wallachian, Italian, and German contingents to a main army of Poles and Hungarians, in which the instigator was an Italian Cardinal, in which the King was a Lithuanian Pole, and the General a Greek Wallachian. It was fought on the Morava, near Nissa, and was won by Huniades. The loss of nine standards and four thousand prisoners on the part of the Turks rests on satisfactory evidence. These, along with thirteen Pashas, were paraded in triumph in the main street of Buda; and those who went to see could count them. The number of the killed is another matter. It was probably, something between two thousand and six thousand. The Hungarians make it thirty thousand. The remainder of the Turkish army retreated, Huniades followed close upon it, took the capital city Sophia, and crossed the Balkan: he and Diebetsch (who, from his exploit in our own times, took the title of *Za-balkanski=the crosser of the Balkan*) being the only two commanders who have ever done so from north and south. From south to north it has been passed by Alexander, and by Amurath I.; not to mention Darius and Sviatoslaf. It was in the month of December that Huniades crossed it; and it was on Christmas day that his army found itself on the southern slope. At the foot of Mount Cunobizza, where the Turks had rallied and received reinforcements, they were again met and again defeated. What is the conqueror now to do?

A.D. 1829.

A.D. 907.

——— petat Urbem
Post Cannas, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
Circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes?

The way from Cunobizza to Adrianopolis was as open to Huniades as to Hannibal was the march from Cannæ to Rome. It was not, however, taken. Huniades returned in triumph to Buda, and the peace of Szegeden was the result.

Szegeden is, in Hungary, with no fault of its own, what Limerick is in Ireland—the City of the Broken Treaty. The peace of Szegeden was an armistice of ten years. The Ottomans were ready to hold by it. Amurath—under what is called his second abdication, but which was, in reality, such an abdication as Tiberius made when he retired to Capreæ—had retired to a something between a mosque and a harem in Asia Minor. The Servians were restored to their independence and Wallachia was given up to Hungary. But there was an ecclesiastic magnate of the church militant, who *held* that no treaties with the Infidel were binding, and the Cardinal Cesarini, or Julian, absolved the Christians from their oaths. He promised, too, to Huniades the kingdom of Bulgaria when re-conquered; which it never was. The peace had been made before that unscrupulous priest had learned, as he did soon after, that Anatolia was invaded by the Prince of Karamania; that the Greek empire was either ready to invade, or had invaded, Thrace; and that the fleets of Venice and Genoa were masters of the Hellespont. The fleets of Genoa *were* masters of it, and we shall see how they used or abused their mastery. "Is it thus," spoke Julian, "that you will desert their expectations and your own future? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and sins."

His casuistry—we use the mild term of Gibbon, who, nevertheless, writes with malicious pleasure on the perfidy of the Christians—though honourably opposed by the Polish Bishop, achieved its object; and the Ottomans were attacked without a declaration

of war. Amurath left his harem, and the Genoese found it a good commercial speculation to convey him and his army across the Hellespont. He crossed some part of the Balkan from the south and came upon his faithless enemies at Varna. I can neither condense nor improve the following description of the battle which ensued as given by the best writer on military matters amongst English civilians.

### THE BATTLE OF VARNA.

Messengers soon hurried into the Christian camp, who announced that the unresting Sultan had come on against them by forced marches, and that the imperial Turkish army was posted within four miles of Varna.

A battle was inevitable; but the mode in which Hunyades prepared for it showed that his confidence was unabated. He rejected the advice which some gave in a council of war, to form intrenchments and barricades round their camp, and there await the Sultan's attack. He was for an advance against the advancing foe, and for a fair-stricken field. The young king caught the enthusiastic daring of his favourite general, and the Christian army broke up from their lines, and marched down into the level ground northward of the city, to attack the Sultan, who had carefully strengthened his encampment there by a deep ditch and palisades.

On the eve of the feast of St. Mathurin, the 10th of November, 1444, the two armies were arrayed for battle. The left wing of the Christian army consisted chiefly of Wallachian troops. The best part of the Hungarian soldiery was in the right wing, where also stood the Frankish crusaders under the Cardinal Julian. The King was in the centre with the royal guard and the young nobility of his realms. The rear-guard of Polish troops was under the Bishop of Peterwaradin. Hunyades acted as commander-in-chief of the whole army. On the Turkish side the two first lines were composed of cavalry and irregular infantry, the Beyler-Bey of Roumelia commanding on the right, and the Beyler-Bey of Anatolia on the left. In the centre, behind their lines, the Sultan took his post with his Janissaries and the regular cavalry of his body-guard. The copy of the violated treaty was placed on a lance-head, and raised on high among the Turkish ranks for a standard in the battle, and as a visible appeal to the God of truth, who punishes perjury among mankind. At the very instant when the armies were about to encounter, an evil omen troubled the Christians. A strong and sudden blast of wind swept through their ranks, and blew all their banners to the ground, save only that of the King.

Yet, the commencement of the battle seemed to promise them a complete and glorious victory. Hunyades placed himself at the head of the right wing, and charged the Asiatic troops with such vigour that he broke them and chased them from the field. On the other wing, the Wallachians were equally successful against the cavalry and Azabs of Roumelia. King Ladislaus advanced boldly with the Christian centre; and Amurath seeing the rout of his two first lines, and the disorder that was spreading itself in the ranks round him, despaired of the fate of the day, and turned his horse for flight. Fortunately for the House of Othman, Karadja, the Beyler-Bey of Anatolia, who had fallen back on the centre with the remnant of his defeated wing was near the Sultan at this critical moment. He seized his master's bridle, and implored him to fight the battle

out. The commandant of the Janissaries, Yazidzi-Toghan, indignant at such a breach of etiquette, raised his sword to smite the unceremonious Beyler-Bey, when he was himself cut down by an Hungarian sabre. Amurath's presence of mind had failed him only for a moment; and he now encouraged his Janissaries to stand firm against the Christian charge. Young King Ladislaus, on the other side, fought gallantly in the thickest of the strife; but his horse was killed under him, and he was then surrounded and overpowered. He wished to yield himself up prisoner, but the Ottomans, indignant at the breach of the treaty, had sworn to give no quarter. An old Janissary, Khodja Khiri cut off the Christian King's head, and placed it on a pike, a fearful companion to the lance, on which the violated treaty was still reared on high. The Hungarian nobles were appalled at the sight, and their centre fled in utter dismay from the field. Hunyades, on returning with his victorious right wing, vainly charged the Janissaries, and strove at least to rescue from them the ghastly trophy of their victory. At last he fled in despair with the wreck of the troops that he had personally commanded, and with the Wallachians who collected round him. The Hungarian rear-guard, abandoned by their commanders, was attacked by the Turks the next morning and massacred almost to a man. Besides the Hungarian King, Cardinal Julian, the author of the breach of the treaty and the cause of this calamitous campaign, perished at Varna beneath the Turkish scymitar, together with Stephen Bahory, and the Bishops of Eilau and Grosswardein. This overthrow did not bring immediate ruin upon Hungary, but it was fatal to the Slavonic neighbours of the Ottomans, who had joined the Hungarian King against them. Servia and Bosnia were thoroughly reconquered by the Mahometans; and the ruin of these Christian nations, which adhered to the Greek Church, was accelerated by the religious intolerance with which they were treated by their fellow Christians of Hungary and Poland, who obeyed the Pope, and hated the Greek Church as heretical. A Servian tradition relates that George Brankovich once inquired of Hunyades what he intended to do with respect to religion, if he proved victorious. Hunyades answered that he would compel the country to become Roman Catholic. Brankovich thereupon asked the same question of the Sultan, who replied that he would build a church near every mosque, and leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques or to cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The Servians, who heard this, thought it better to submit to the Turks and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites. The tradition expresses a fact, for which ample historical evidence might be cited. So also in Bosnia, the bigotry of the Church of Rome in preaching up a crusade against the sect of the Patarenes, which was extensively spread in that country, caused the speedy and complete annexation of an important frontier province to the Ottoman Empire. Seventy Bosnian fortresses are said to have opened their gates to the Turks within eight days. The royal house of Bosnia was annihilated, and many of her chief nobles embraced Mahometanism to avoid a similar doom.

Such is the first notable service done by Poland in its capacity of the Bulwark of Christianity. I have taken the account as I found it; without recurring to any original narratives, or collating authorities. Had I had the leisure to have done this, it would not have been done. What I want is not so much the historical fact as the valuation of the force that excites our sympathies; and

these are to be found, not in the comparison of discordant authorities, but in the current text-books. No one who argues in favour of Poland under Ladislas having deserved well of Christendom is likely to go beyond the authors upon whom I have so freely drawn.

The date and place of our next episode are A.D. 1683, and the suburbs of Vienna. The Hungarians had revolted; and an Ottoman army was on the way to Vienna. It is said to have amounted to more than a quarter of a million of men. The Emperor had but few allies to whom he might betake himself. He turned his eyes, however, to Poland, then at peace with the Porte, and obtained from Sobieski the promise of fifty-eight thousand men. Of these he brought on the field twenty thousand: but, as he was joined by the Duke of Lorraine and some other German commanders, the number of the troops by which he effected the relief of Vienna amounted to seventy thousand. The city itself was garrisoned by eleven thousand men under Staremberg: and the siege had lasted from the 15th of July to the 12th of September. Sobieski, uxorious and nepotistic, a great soldier but a weak administrator, was the husband of a Frenchwoman, and had, from first to last, been a strong partizan of the French interest, as the French had been of his.

It is not often that talent of any kind descends to the third generation. It did so with the Bernouillis as mathematicians. It did so, in the times of which we now write, with the Kuiprilis as Viziers to the Sultan. But the third Kuiprili had been disgraced and Kara Mustapha reigned, or ruled, in his stead. Mahomet IV. was the Sultan, and Kara Mustapha was his son-in-law. The Ottoman power was broken; or if not broken, stationary; and the armies which under Othman and his successors were the terror of Europe, had now fallen both from their old discipline and their old prestige. Kara Mustapha was sanguine enough to believe that Austria was as easily dealt with as it was in the times of Amurath and Solyman: and that a second siege of Vienna might be indulged in with impunity. But the first years of his Vizierate had been consumed in an inglorious war with Russia. There was an alliance between Turkey and Poland against her. There was a Kosak war; with the Kosak Doroshensko at its head. As far as Turkey was con-

cerned this ended with the peace of Zuravna; but the peace of Zuravna was concluded between Turkey and Poland; and not between Turkey on the one side and Poland and Russia, taken together, on the other. It was, essentially, a private composition between two of the belligerents, from which the third was excluded. Russia took no part in it; indeed, after its conclusion, the war between Russia and Turkey continued: and it ended in the former Power supporting Doroshensko. He had grown discontented with the Sultan and had put himself in relations with the Czar.

The result was a kind of triangular duel: for Poland had a claim upon the Kosak country. Whatever it was, it kept the Ottomans employed against Russia. Kara Mustapha, after being beaten off from Czehrym, captured it in the following year. A peace with Russia followed, followed five years afterwards by another with Poland, in which the Republic acknowledged the sovereignty of the Czar over the whole of the Ukraine.

In 1683 Kara Mustapha was before Vienna. We have already given the real or fictitious numbers of his army. As far as treaties were concerned it was Austria, and Austria alone, with whom he had to deal—but we have seen how treaties with the Infidel are treated by Christians who have an opportunity before them. Both as a *parvenu*, and as a partizan of the French, Sobieski had been treated with either contumely or a near approach to it by the Kaiser. But he was the type of the Christian borderer in all dealings with the Turk. Not only did he make light account of the treaty, but he made light account of the policy of the French Court; and the French Court, which took no pain from the disgrace of Austria.

A breach had been made in the walls of Vienna; and, with an army of a quarter of a million of men, any amount of life might have been spent on forlorn hopes and not wasted. With an army of a quarter of a million of men there were ample means for sending out whole legions in the shape of detachments to cut off either supplies or reinforcements. But either the Vizier was no captain, or the army was less in reality than on paper. By the 11th of September the Poles were on Mount Kahlenberg, and "from this hill," says Coyer, "the Christians were presented with one of the finest and most dreadful prospects of the greatness of human power; an immense plain, and all the islands of the Danube

covered with pavilions, whose magnificence seemed rather calculated for an encampment of pleasure than the hardships of war; an innumerable multitude of horses, camels, buffaloes; two million men all in motion; swarms of Tartars dispersed along the foot of the mountain in their usual confusion; the fire of the besiegers incessant and terrible, and that of the besieged such as they could contrive to make—in fine, a great city, distinguishable only by the tops of the steeples, and the fire and smoke that covered it." All this Sobieski saw, and said—"this man is badly encamped; he knows nothing of war; we shall certainly beat him." To his wife he wrote, "we can easily see that the general of an army who has neither thought of entrenching himself nor concentrating his forces, but lies encamped as if we were a hundred miles from him, is predestined to be beaten." And so he was. Sobieski had been invested with the command of the whole army, which, with honourable magnanimity, the Prince of Lorraine had acquiesced in. On the morning of the 12th they descended from the heights, the road from which was broken with ravines, which made the carriage of artillery difficult or impracticable. Yet the Vizier took no advantage of this, and (strange to say) is reported not to have known that it was Sobieski who was upon him until nearly or wholly within sight of him. "God for Poland!" was the cry in the native Slavonic. "Non nobis," was the fuller chorus from the Latin. "Sobieski! Sobieski!" was the shout that drowned it. "Allah!" cried the khan of the Crimean Tartars; "the king is with them, sure enough."

The Vizier had divided his forces; some he had ordered to intercept Sobieski. Others he had left before the town. But there was a sortie from the city; and there was Sobieski himself for the other division. Each fought well; each was routed. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the magnificent cathedral of St. Stephen's, and Vienna was saved. All Europe felt that a burden and a terror had been taken off. The Ottomans were pursued into Hungary, and two other victories were gained over them. The Emperor alone was either ungrateful or ungracious.

Meanwhile, another of the Polish generals had signally worsted the Tartars in the Ukraine, and the hospodar of Wallachia had been replaced by a partizan of Poland.

The Tartar khan had good reason to know Sobieski. This was

not the first of his blows that he had felt. In a previous campaign the Polish king had entrenched himself at Zuranov, with ten thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon. The Turkish force was two hundred and ten thousand under Ibrahim *Shaitan*, or Ibrahim the *Devil*, Pasha of Damascus. In the churches of Poland prayers were offered up for his delivery; and in this we have the measure of either the fear or the danger. For twenty days this comparative handful of men was harassed both by cannonadings and attacks. Terms were offered; but the only ones which were to be accepted were such that Sobieski threatened to hang the messenger who, in future, should presume to bring them. Hostilities went on. The Lithuanians threatened desertion. "Dêsert who will," said the king, "I will remain—alive or dead." I conclude this notice in the words of the most popular * English historian of Poland, from whom I have already taken much. "To remain in his camp was no longer safe; one morning he issued from it, and drew up his handful of men, now scarcely seven thousand, in battle array as tranquilly as if he had legions to marshal. Utterly confounded at this display of rashness, or of confidence, the Turks cried out—'There is magic in it!' a cry in which Shaitan, devil as he was, joined. Filled with admiration at a bravery which exceeded his imagination, the pacha sued for peace on less dishonourable conditions.

"By the treaty, two-thirds of the Ukraine were restored to Poland, the remaining third being in the power of the Porte; the question as to Podolia was to be discussed at Constantinople; all prisoners, hostages, &c., were also restored. The conditions, indeed, were below the dignity of the Republic; but that such favourable ones could be procured at such a crisis, is the best comment on the valour of the king. This was the sentiment of all Europe, which resounded more than ever with his praises."

"Is this history or romance?" writes one of the narrators of Sobieski's exploits. That depends on the accuracy of the figures. To me a romantic element is apparent. Still a great service was done to Christendom, and it was the Poles who did it.

In restricting the notice of the wars, between the Poles and the Mahometans, to these two campaigns, I do not mean, that the

* Dunham—History of Poland, in Lardner's Cabinet Encyclopædia.

limitations thus suggested apply to the general history of Poland. There are plenty of other instances, wherein extraordinary valour was shown by the Polish armies against any odds of numbers and position. But these apply to what we may call the private wars between the two Powers; the wars that the common frontier, and other elements of hostility, engendered. In these, however, there is no such an element as that which we just found, viz. a disinterested defence of Christendom *as such;* a defence of third parties; an act of chivalrous championship. For mere exploits, another campaign of Sobieski's—that of 1667—is on the high level of his relief of Vienna. Then it was when, after the deep abasement in which his country was sunk during the unhappy reign of John Casimir; after the eastern half had been overrun by the Russians and Kosaks; after the western half had been conquered by the Swedes; and after a partition had been either arranged or begun, that a multitudinous army of Turks and Tartars invaded Podolia, and, for the thousand-and-first time invested Kaminiec. Czarnieçki and Lubomirski, who had done so much to rescue Poland in the previous wars, were no more. Whether, at this time, and under these circumstances, Sobieski routed eighty thousand of the enemy with no more than ten thousand men is doubtful. It is certain that he achieved a most glorious, decisive, and greatly-needed victory.

## CHAPTER VII.

### Lithuania, from the Death of Sigismund II. to the Treaty of Vienna.

It was at the death of Sigismund I., that the Crown first became elective; and amongst the numerous bitter discussions which took place during the interregnum, was one as to the place of the election. The Poles proposed Warsaw, the Lithuanians, a village on the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania. The Poles carried the day. Nor was the question an unimportant one. It was an election to which neither deputies nor proxies were admitted. It was an election in which every noble was to meet his peers in person. In such a plan as this, distance is an important element; and when the third election came on the Lithuanians complained, and with probable justice, that in the first two the Poles had carried matters with an unduly high hand, and that the Grand Duchy had been but imperfectly represented. Next came the question as to the Dissidents—a term which included, among others, the members of the Greek Church—the Church which had an overwhelming majority in Lithuania. Finally, the Czar was one of the candidates; the candidate who had the support of Lithuania, and the candidate who lost.

As far as the Grand Duchy was concerned, full equality of vote was ensured to it; but there were Lithuanians both in Prussia and Cúrland, and from Prussia and Cúrland no noble was allowed to attend. Neither did those countries send deputies.

To Stephen Batory, Lithuania owed much, and acknowledged the debt. He founded the University of Vilna. He recovered Polotsk from the Russians, who had conquered it during the reign of Sigismund I., and conferred it as a fief upon the Duke of Cúrland. He cut his way still further northwards; even to Novogorod. In his Russian campaign he met with every sign of the truest attachment—not, however, from the Poles, but from

the Lithuanians. In Vilna, he inspired confidence; in Warsaw discontent and jealousy. And here, as the wars with the Kosaks of the Ukraine are approaching, I may remark that a great proportion of these formidable warriors, if not the majority, was of Lithuanian blood; a fact which must be remembered when we find the Lithuanians so often claiming an extension towards the south. After Stephen Batory's death, they demand not only Livonia, but Volhynia and Podolia for the Grand Duchy, and insist upon their being incorporated with it. This is when Sigismund III. is elected; the Lithuanian candidate being the Czar. That Sigismund was the Crown-Prince of Sweden, who, for the throne of Poland, embraced the Roman Catholic religion, has already been mentioned, and it may be added, that he was an intolerant king; Lithuania being full of Greek Church Dissidents. During the reign of his successor, Ladislas VII., Lithuania was the base of a successful campaign against Russia, and in that of his successor of an unsuccessful one. At the conclusion of the former, the Polish kingdom comprised Smolensko and Tshernigof, over which the Czar renounced all claims or pretension. At the conclusion of the latter, the Russians held possession of Semigallia on the very frontier of Cúrland. This arose out of the alliance between the Kosaks and the Czar—the fortunes of Lithuania being connected with those of the Kosaks, with whom they were much more closely allied than with the Poles. After the death of Bogdan this became apparent. The eastern half of the Kosak country went to Russia, and even Vilna went with it. Podolia and Volhynia were won back; but the parts beyond the Dnieper never reverted to Poland. Under Michael there were fresh quarrels, and factions. I cannot give the details of them; but it is a remarkable fact that, even under a leader like Sobieski, the fidelity of the Lithuanian portion of the army could never be depended on. Twice it traversed the plans of that soldier, by either desertion *en masse*, or by loud expressions of discontent. Indeed, in the campaign of 1672, there was actual mutiny—mutiny, however, which was too strong to be punished. Kaminiec had been taken, Podolia was reduced, Red Russia was overrun; Mahomet, in person, had invested Leopol; and by the peace of Budchaz the Ukraine and the suzerainty (such as it was) over the Kosaks had been ceded. Finally, tribute had been promised; but not paid.

The Grand Vizier having renewed the war, Sobieski intended to fall upon two of the Turkish generals separately, and then to advance against Kaminiec or the main body of the army which the Sultan in person was expected to lead. The Lithuanians compelled him to reverse the order in which had prepared to take the generals; and to begin with Hussein, who with eighty-thousand men, held Kotzim, rather than with Caplan Pasha, who was advancing through Moldavia. Even against Hussein, they marched unwillingly, and when they found him, Paz, the Lithuanian hetman, was with difficulty persuaded to co-operate. Kotzim, however, was taken; only, however, to be retaken; for Michael died, and the election of Sobieski as king followed—remarkable for nothing more than for the unanimous opposition raised by the Lithuanians against the only man who could save Poland. The hetman Paz was his personal enemy; and it was not until Radzivil lent Sobieski his support, and Paz found his opposition useless, that it was withdrawn. The King, however, was bound to pass one year in three in Lithuania, and to hold every third Diet at Grodno.

Still the army was as untrustworthy as before. Kotzim taken, and retaken, had to be taken again, and one of the first acts of Sobieski's reign was an attempt to recover it. He was in a fair way of doing it, when Paz, with his Lithuanians, again deserted, leaving him to retreat before a fresh army of Ottomans and Tartars. The indignation, however, of his countrymen forced him to re-unite, and, unwillingly, to share in the glory of more than one victory. In the relief, however, of Vienna the Lithuanian army took no share. Alexander conquered Asia without the Spartans, and Sobieski, in helping Austria, dispensed with the Lithuanians.

The next important occasion on which there was room for any notable display of a Lithuanian feeling as opposed to a Polish, was when Charles XII. invaded Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia. At this time the Duchy was divided between two great factions; that of the Radzivils and that of the Sapiehas. As far as I can judge by the names, and I have not gone further into the question, the Radzivils were of Polish, the Sapiehas of native blood. At any rate, the Sapiehas held with Charles: but as the Polish feeling was, to a great extent, in the same direction (Augustus being con-

sidered a Saxon rather than a Polish king) I do not lay much stress on this.

Then came the times of the Partition; when Lithuania was *de facto*, though not *de jure*, Russian. Then the times of Napoleon; upon which we may pause.

In 1812 Vilna was the scene of a succession of intrigues: being, during April, May, and June, the residence of the Czar and his generals, and during July that of Napoleon. As the Czar left, the Emperor entered. The intrigues, however, continued; though they fell into different hands, and were carried on for different objects. Alexander had dazzled the people of Vilna with the splendour of his entertainments, and pleased them with the affability of his manners. The heads of the Lithuanian nobility (I observe that all the names given by Schlosser are *Polish*) had ribbons and stars conferred on them; and deputies from Poland were received with honour. The departure, however, of the Emperor and his staff was abrupt. They left behind them a great part of their provisions and anmunitions, and the administration of Lithuania fell into the hands of the able agents of Napoleon. Although the provisional government consisted of Poles, everything was directed by Frenchmen. Bignon and Jomini first, and Hogendorp afterwards, were at the head of the war department. The last, by his rudeness, did much to estrange the Lithuanians: whose country was now divided into four intendancies—Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Bialystock, the intendants being Frenchmen. It was during Napoleon's stay in Vilna that some of the more important declarations concerning both the wishes of the Poles and the intentions of the Emperor were made; these last being regulated by the conditions through which the co-operation of Austria was insured. To a deputation from Warsaw the answer was that he—Napoleon—"saw, with pleasure, the Poles full of enthusiasm for the resurrection of Poland: but that it was not consistent with his policy publicly to declare himsel favourable to the restoration." The answer to the speech containing this disheartening announcement—an answer which had been prepared under the expectation of a favourable promise —was never delivered: but another, put into the mouth of the Voyood Vybieski, with, apparently, a touch or two of Bignon's, was substituted for it. Let it merely be said that "the kingdom

of Poland exists and sixteen millions of Poles will sacrifice either life or fortune for emperors." However, this was neither said explicitly, nor left unsaid. The Emperor had duties of divers kinds to fulfil, and complicated interests to reconcile. He could admire the enthusiasm of the Poles, and sympathize in their denunciations of the Czar—but "I hold the same language as I held from the beginning; and I should also add that I have guaranteed the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and that I cannot authorize any scheme, or any movement which would tend to trouble him in the peaceable possession of the Polish provinces which remain to him. Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Vitepsk, Polotsk, Mohilev, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine become animated with the spirit which has shown itself in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success the sanctity of your cause." But no such demonstrations were made; and the retreat from Moscow ended the Napoleonic portion of Lithuanian history. What took place after the Congress of Vienna, on the soil of Lithuania, will be noticed elsewhere.

I now pass to the localities of another division of the Lithuanic stock, Cúrland and Livonia—which, though less Polish in their political relations than Lithuania Proper, are still Lithuanic, and which require to be noticed before Poland and Lithuania (for we must take the two together) are done with.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### Cúrland and Livonia generally.

THOUGH the political history of Cúrland and Livonia is, on many points, different from that of Lithuania, there are many points which, for the purposes of ethnography and in the investigation of nationality, connect them. There is likeness as well as difference: difference joined to likeness. In a less degree there is difference between the two provinces themselves. The likeness, however, or affinity, is strong. As far as Language is either an element in nationality, or a test of it, there is a decided and undoubted affinity between them. As far as the name is concerned, there is affinity also – for the root of the words *Let* and *Lithuanian* is the same. Though, politically speaking, a Cúrlander is a native of Cúrland, he is still a *Let* in language, name, and blood. Indeed, a Cúrlander is a Let in Cúrland: and when we take the statistics of that Duchy, we talk of so many Letts, so many Lithuanians Proper, so many Germans, and so many Liefs—these forming but a small and unimportant fraction of the whole. We must notice them, however, and we must notice their name.

The Let language is, in all respects, Lithuanie; except that it has lost some of the Lithuanic inflexions. The statement, which may be found in books pretending to authority, that it is so much more modern than its congener as to stand towards it in the same degree of relationship that Italian has towards Latin, is an exaggeration. Whether there are any forms of it which are easily intelligible to a Lithuanian, I cannot say.

The character of the popular poetry is the same: the Let songs being shorter and more fragmentary than the Lithuanic. This, however, may be an apparent rather than a real difference; inasmuch as less attention has been paid to the collecting of them.

Even with the Lithuanians Proper, it is not certain that the blood and the language coincide. We must always remember that they are on a Fin frontier; and that, as a general rule, the Fin populations of these parts have given way to the encroachments from the south and west. That they extended further in the direction of German is an ascertained and admitted fact—and, at the present moment, Estonia is essentially Fin—Fin after the fashion of Finland itself.

Whatever may be the case with the Lithuanic and Yatshving areas, the evidence that both Livonia and Cúrland were Fin before they were Lithuanic is satisfactory; if not conclusive. They are so, to a certain extent, at the present moment: as may be seen from the following tables, in which the Liefs are a sub-division of the Fins of the southern shore of the Baltic; and in which it must be observed that the Estonian Fins are more numerous in Livonia than in Estonia itself—just as the Liefs are more numerous in Cúrland, than in the land which takes its name from them *Lief*-land, or *Liv*-onia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Estonians in Estonia . . . . . | 252,608 |
| ———— Livonia . . . . . | 355,216 |
| ———— Cúrland . . . . . | none |
| | 607,824 |
| Liefs in Livonia . . . . . | 22 |
| ——— Cúrland . . . . . | 2052 |
| | 2074 |

*Lief* and *Kur*, the names from which *Cúr*-land and *Lief*-land are derived, are essentially Fin, and not at all Lithuanic; but they are, also, names which *now* apply to Cúrland and Livonia just as the name Britain applies to England, *i. e.* very loosely. They are the names of the older populations, rather than the names of the existing ones. That these older populations left some of their blood in the land as well as their names is probable.

How the Fins who gave their name to Cúrland differed from the Fins who gave their name to Liefland is unknown. We must only surmise that there was *some* difference between them—the

difference suggested by the name. It may have been considerable, or it may have been infinitesimally small. Neither can we say where one name ended and where the other began. It is probable, however, that each extended further westward than it does now. There is a notable remnant of the true *Liefs* in Cúrland; whilst Cúrland, on the other hand, may have encroached upon what is now East Prussia.

At what time the names under notice began to denote a Lithuania of Cúrland or Liefland, rather than an original Fin, is uncertain. Word for word, I believe, with others, that *Lemovii* in Tacitus is *Lief*, or *Liev;* and I think it probable that, in the time of Tacitus, it was the early Fin population to which it applied; just as in the time of Tacitus, it was a Kelt whom the term *Briton* designated. The notice, however, of Tacitus is fragmentary, and (if we may use the expression) premature; *i. e.* it is earlier, by a very long time, than the beginning of continuous history of the parts to which it applies. When this begins the Curi, Curones, or Curetes—for that is the name under which the Cúrlanders first appear—were, probably, more Lithuanic than the Lieflanders; and, probably, more Lithuanic than Fin. A Roman in the eighth century speaking of a *Briton* in Devonshire would use a very doubtful word. He might mean an eastern representative of the ancient Britons of Cornwall or he might mean a western representative of the Englishmen of Dorsetshire and Hants. Which he meant would be difficult to decide: though the same word, four hundred years sooner or four hundred years later, would have been as clear in its meaning as the sun at noon. It would have meant an ancient Briton at the earlier, an ordinary Englishman at the latter, period.

The main difference between Cúrland and Livonia on the one side, and Lithuania Proper on the other, is, that the former are both more German and more Swedish in their political relations and history, than the latter—Livonia being more Swedish and more Estonian than Cúrland. Lithuania, on the other hand, is more Polish and more Russian—more Polish at first, more Russian at present. Again, Lithuania is essentially an inland country, and a country running far towards the south. Hence, the Southern Lithuanians came in contact not only with Poles and Russians but with Tartars and Mongols. The Baltic Pro-

vinces, on the other hand (for so we call not only Cúrland and Livonia but Estonia as well) lay on the sea; had ports and trade, ships and sailors.

Between the physical conditions, products, and habits of the two countries, as between their superstitions, there is not much difference.

## CHAPTER IX.

### Cúrland.

THE Curi, Curones, or Curetes, who gave their name to Cúrland, are first mentioned in connection with the Swedes, to whose piracies or commerce their position along the sea-coast exposed them. They were either tributaries or subjects to them. Amongst the barbarous idolaters of the district they were amongst the most barbarous. Some of the strange stories concerning men who dressed themselves like monks had their venue in Cúrland. From Cúrland, a land of auguries and necromancers, answers were sought from distant regions; especially, says Adam of Bremen, from Greece and Spain.

Word for word, the *Cur-* in *Cur*-ones seems to be the same as the *Kar-* in *Kar*-elia, and other undoubted or probable Fin districts.

In the way of dynastic association Cúrland followed the fashion of the Empire; and there was a Duke of Cúrland just as there was a Duke, or Prince, of Gotha or Lippe Schaumburg. The same principle told on both. The *differentiæ*, however, of Cúrland are peculiar. As a conquest of the Teutonic Order it was granted by the Pope. As a district of Northern Germany it belonged to the Platt-Deutsch division of the language; coincident with which (with the exception of Osnaburg) there is a preponderance of Protestantism.

Let us look upon Cúrland, then, as the locality of a class of dominant settlers from Germany: of settlers who were essentially foreign to the soil and dominant upon it. They were strong enough to indulge in their individualisms: and a large portion became Protestant, just as a smaller portion remained Romanist. The fact of their being Northern Germans may have had something to do with this. The fact of their proximity to a Swedish

dependency, of which the mass was their congeners, both in blood and language, may have had more. However, soon after the Reformation they had a Duke who was a Protestant. Never had a grand duke so vulgar a name. It was Kettler. However, the Kettler dynasty was that upon which the fortunes of Cúrland turned. His family became extinct: and the Protestant succession came to an end. During its continuance Russia had grown stronger, Sweden weaker; Poland weaker—both weaker, but especially Sweden; Russia being, most especially, not only absolutely stronger, but stronger at the expense of the two.

Though Cúrland was independent of Sweden it was not so of Poland. Poland held it as a fief. Now, the policy of Poland was to incorporate Cúrland as an integral part of the kingdom as soon as ever the line of Kettler had died out. It *did* die out; and then came tergiversations on both sides. But there was a strong hand to control them. During the wars between Charles XII. and Peter the Great concerning the nomination of the King of Poland, it was a mere matter of strategics that Cúrland should be either effectually defended by Poland, or occupied by Russia. The latter was the alternative. The Russians took possession and kept it. So it was *de facto*. Considered *de jure*, the Poles were the more important party in the suit. They had, when the perpetuity of the line of Kettler was in doubt, recognized the secularization of the religious estates, and the change of spiritual bishops into temporal princes; and they had done this in favour of the Protestant duke on the condition that when the Protestant Succession ceased, or that when his line came to an end, the relation of fief and suzerain should cease, and that Cúrland should be incorporated with Poland. Whatever may have been the faults in Polish policy elsewhere, there is nothing here to which we can refuse our approbation. And the line *did* come to an end: and the last duke was a convert: and the last duke was childless: and the last duke cared little about Cúrland. He apostatized from his creed and country, and his race became extinct: and the Poles were ready to take possession when the men who were the statesman of Cúrland either repudiated or evaded the agreement. They called-in a son of Augustus II., and offered to make him duke. He accepted the offer and was acknowledged by both the Cúrlanders and the Poles—but not by the Russians.

The Russians kept their troops in the duchy and the troops forbid his installation. The details of their occupancy are of little importance. We need only remember that the dukes of Cúrland had intermarried with the Russian Royal Family; and add that the wife and widow of the last duke was a niece of Peter's: who afterwards became Anne the Czarina of all the Russias. No wonder that her hold on Cúrland was of the strongest. She had a favourite, Biren; and this favourite she forced upon Cúrland, and enjoined the recognition of him on Augustus III. As King of Poland he mixed compliancy with resistance. He acknowledged Biren; but he required certain formalities from him which implied the suzerainty of Poland. He held Cúrland, but held it as a fief of Poland. He was required to undergo certain formal proceedings at Warsaw. He did it, and was invested.

Now Biren was a favourite: and, in course of time, he was a disgraced favourite. He went to Siberia as an exile. He put in certain claims as Duke of Cúrland, and vassal of Poland. The Russian Government acknowledged each claim: and despised it. His suzerain exerted himself in his behalf; and he exerted himself in vain. The time had come when Cúrland must take one Russian *nominee* in exchange for another. Prince Louis of Brunswick was put forward to replace Biren. But the revolution which replaced Anne by Elizabeth prevented him. There was a lull as to the question of succession. Cúrland was in the meanwhile misgoverned; so far as anarchy, with all the disadvantages of bad government, can be called government. The orders, when they came at all, came from St. Petersburg. The men who enforced them were Russian soldiers; soldiers who had never evacuated the country. The men who conveyed them were Russian officials. All, in short, so far as it was anything, was Russian. The finance, such as it was, was managed by Russians; and the taxes were applied to the payment of Biren's personal debts to Russian creditors. Some of these were real; some usuriously exaggerated; some wholly unreal. However, the Cúrland taxes went to St. Petersburg. In 1754, the King of Poland, whose claims had to some extent been recognized by Elizabeth, had allowed a deputation to apply for Biren's liberation. But the Empress never met it. All that was not Russia was anarchy.

The duke, who had been refused by Russia, and who had been acknowledged by both the Poles and Cúrlanders, was Count Maurice of Saxony, afterwards famous in the military history of France. He was a natural son of Augustus II. The candidate now put forward, was a legitimate son of Augustus III. He satisfied Elizabeth; who was pleased to announce to Augustus III. that he might be invested. The Polish King and the Polish Senate agreed to him: but the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter III., objected. His *nominee* was a prince of the Holstein family: a fact which directs our attention towards Denmark. The real contest, however, was between Charles and Biren. Charles recalled Biren and, between money and promises, fancied that he had bought up his claims; when Catherine became Empress. She supported Biren and won; the Poles supported Charles and lost. Biren misgoverned Cúrland, and it became a Russian province. This was in the times when the first partition of Poland was being brewed. Frederic the Great was one of the first who acknowledged Biren.

The times of the duke and the anti-duke are now over, and Cúrland is a Russian province.

## CHAPTER X.

### Livonia, or Liefland.

A LETT of Livonia is a Livonian as an Englishman of Yorkshire is a Briton, *i. e.* not at all. He is merely an occupant of long standing in a foreign country into which he has introduced himself and upon the soil whereof he is naturalized. This has already been stated; but, as it involves a distinction which is often overlooked it will bear repetition. Perhaps, indeed, it requires it.

The name *Lief* is apparently an old one. One of the names found by Tacitus, and ascribed by him to the vast tract of land which he somewhat loosely names *Germania*, is *Lemovii*. In the fifteenth century we hear of the Lemonii, and Curanii, in the parts now under notice, *i. e.* in Liefland and Cúrland. The name again appears as *Terra Lamotina*, and *Lammethis*, or, perhaps, *Lammethin*; for the inflection of these outlying names is doubtful. The Letts, if not the actual occupants of a part of this *Terra Lamotina*, were on its frontier. They are more properly called *Lettgalli*; in Russian *Lyetgola*. From *Semgallen*, *Pillkallen*, and numerous other names, we may learn that this termination *gall* was, pre-eminently, a Lithuanian root; and we may on occasions use it as an instrument of criticism. The earlier historical notices that apply to them are from a native, Henry the Lett; and it seems that, in his time, his countrymen were weaker than their Fin neighbours: for he says that they were harassed by the Liefs and the Estonians. They are now too weak to harass any one; and the Estonians are anything but strong. Associated with the Letts are two other populations; the Selones and the Ydumæi: the details of whose history are unknown. It is interesting, however, to observe how names

familiar to us from the Scriptures or the Classics turn-up, at different times and in odd places in these northern latitudes. Certain Prussians are named *Parthi;* the Hungarians, on occasions, *Agareni;* just as certain Liefs or Letts are called *Edomites* or *Idumeans.*

Along with these we meet with the *Wendi;* just as in Tacitus we meet with the *Venedi.* I infer from this not only that the certain outlying Slavonians had settled themselves in the parts about Riga, some eighteen hundred years ago, but that certain Germans had done the same; for, though Vend is a name which is applied to the Slaves, it is the Germans who apply it. I do not, however, look upon the inference as unexceptionable. Be this as it may, there were Venedi here in the time of Tacitus, and Vends in the thirteenth century. They were a poor and broken people, who were driven from a river in Cúrland, which bore their name, into the district of which the city of Riga was afterwards founded. I once suggested that the Rugii, whom Tacitus joins with the Lemovii, might have had more to do with this district than with the Isle of Rugen, to which they are generally attributed. The doctrine, however, was treated with the contempt it deserved. It ran counter to more than three centuries of undivided opinion, and to almost as many hypotheses. It is true for all that.

The contest between Russia and Sweden for Livonia (and Livonia would carry with it Estonia and Ingria) took a definite form towards the end of the reign of Gustavus Vasa; and a caution against unnecessary aggressions in that direction, was one of the many injunctions which the anxious father laid upon his intractable sons, Eric and his brothers. For one of these, indeed, John, a portion of Livonia was intended as a kind of appanage. The place, however, belonged to John and his brothers, not to Gustavus himself. That the Danish influence in Estonia should be lessened, was all to which that prudent sovereign committed himself. This was the only Swedish interest he seems to have recognized And it was a real one. A war with Denmark was imminent, and the Danes had just received the submission of Reval:—"Upon this we would have thee to think, dear son, what detriment it might work for our affairs, if the Danes should become our neighbours on this side also; whether it be not better

to forestall than to be forestalled; to take the piece from the hound in time, than to be bitten by him—give us thy opinion hereupon." *

The Grand-master, then, was to be assisted by a loan from Sweden for which the town of Reval was to be impignorated. But the power of the Grand-master and his Order was on the wane: indeed it was setting—sinking. Poland, the Empire, Denmark, and Sweden were appealed to for defence against Russia; and in a multitude of applications there was room for intrigue, cross-purposes, fraud and dissimulation. Indeed, though the policy indicated in the letter just quoted is a sufficient explanation of Gustavus' conduct, it is not the only one. It is suggested by the historian of Sweden, that it was not against Denmark alone that these precautions were taken. John had been intriguing in the same quarter and with offers of nearly similar terms. He had connived at the piracies of Reval; he had given shelter in Finland to some of the pirates; and he was tendering a loan to the Grand-master as a security for a certain fortress. It was wise on the part of Gustavus to get the management of an affair like this into his own hands, instead of letting it fall into those of his unwary sons, who were making their arrangements without his privity, though not without his knowledge. He had suspected, if not observed, something clandestine for some time, and had made a strong representation on the matter:—"Seeing thou well knowest that Finland is not a separate dominion from Sweden, but that both are counted as members of one body, it becomes thee to undertake nothing which concerns the whole kingdom, unless he who is the true head of Sweden, with the estates of the realm, be consulted thereupon, and it be approved and confirmed by him and them, as thy bounden duty points out, and Sweden's law requires."

However, the machinations continued, though the completion of them was put off. Neither was the plan concocted amongst the brothers ever put into effect. The father, whom they had conspired to deceive, was on the edge of the grave; and when the grave closed over him a more than Theban enmity broke out between the sons. The domestic history of Eric and his brothers, John and Charles, is one of the saddest portions in the

* Letter of the King to Eric, December 8 and 10, 1558. From Gejer's History of Sweden.

history of Sweden. The two greatest of her kings were unhappy in their immediate successors. The daughter of Gustavus Adolphus and the two oldest sons of Gustavus Vasa equally let their crowns lose lustre. One of Eric's projects was to become King Consort of England, after making love to Queen Elizabeth in disguise. In this we have a measure of his sense.

On the accession of Eric, his brother John reminded him that a territory in Livonia had been promised to him; and that if this promise were fulfilled he would undertake the protection of Reval against the Russians under Ivan Vassiliewitch II. But Eric undertook the affair himself, and sent over an army which was received into the town. The nobles submitted to Swedish rule; and, after Eric had been crowned, their privileges were confirmed by the royal sanction given at Stockholm. The title, too, of Eric became "King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Lord of Livonia and Reval." Such are the chief details connected with Sweden's first step across the Baltic. A war was the result. It did not, however, break out at once; inasmuch as peace with Russia was preserved. This was because there was a common enemy in Poland. Cúrland, under Kettler, had become a Polish fief: and, of all the Powers of Europe, the one that was most feared and most suspected was Poland; whilst the Power that was strongest to oppose her was neither Russia nor the Empire, but Sweden.

And now our history is full of complications. Poland, with Cúrland as a fief; Russia pressing northwards or westwards from Novogorod and Moscow; and Denmark, with a powerful navy, are all fixing their attention upon Livonia and Estonia. In the family of Gustavus the counsels are divided; if counsel it may be called that has its origin in ambition, egotism, and jealousy, rather than in the judgment. John recommends a Polish alliance as against Russia: Eric allies himself with Russia as against Poland. When a Danish war breaks out, as it does a few years afterwards, the complications increase, and the extraordinary offers in the way of compromise suggest reflections upon the slightness of the causes upon which great effects may hang. It was proposed that the Swedish possessions in Livonia should be made over to the Empire, and held under the Empire, as a fief, by Denmark. It was proposed that the Danish prince, Magnus, should

marry the Czar's niece, and put himself under Russian protection. This was done; and he bore, for a time, the title of King of Liefland: with Russia to back his pretensions. Afterwards, however, the contest is almost wholly between two combatants—Sweden and Russia; so that, except as secondary influences, Denmark and Poland have but little to do with the history of the next century and a half—the Empire less.

It was now incumbent upon Russia to make good her engagement to John: and an army invaded Estonia and Livonia. They left blood upon every footstep, and struck a terror in the hearts of all except the garrison of Reval. This held out for Sweden till the eleventh hour: when relief came. The Russian successes and the Russian cruelties had done much to weaken the Swedish dominion: but the disastrous quarrels within the Swedish army itself had done more. It was not an army of Swedes. There were German mercenaries in it, and there were Scotch mercenaries; for Scotch assistance was generally to be hired by the Swedes. Not on one occasion only, but on many, must we remember this when we have occasion to go into the minute ethnology of Scandinavia. In one of the mutinies as many as fifteen hundred Scots were cut down. But a Turkish war broke out, and Sweden was appealed to on both sides. This gave her an opportunity for retrieving her fortunes; and it was improved by the accession of a skilful officer to her ranks. Pontus de la Gardie was a Frenchman; but he served the Swedes better than they served themselves. He married a natural daughter of the King, and was appointed general against the Russians. He ejected them from Livonia; and followed them beyond the boundary. He took Narva, Kexholm, and all the fortresses in Ingria. The Swedes claim for their countrymen the award of comparative humanity in their dealings with the natives—but comparative humanity, when an invading army of Russians under such a king as Ivan Vassilievitsh is the standard, is but faint praise. The Russians were merciless: but they were then, as now, brave and obstinate. Their discipline then, as now, was such as to make them undergo any extremity rather than yield; for "they," says a chronicler * of 1627, "from their youth upward are

* Ægidius Girs. Chronicle of King John III. Quoted from Geijer's History of Sweden, English translation.

inured to continuous labour and much fasting, and can make shift long enough with scant food, as with meal, salt, and water. They know also that when they give up a fortress they are butchered with the most contemptuous mockery, how great soever the need may have been that drove them thereto, and that they cannot remain in another country. Therefore they choose rather to defend themselves to the last man. But they hold it, moreover, for a deadly and unpardonable sin to surrender a fortress; and prefer to die blissfully for their lord and father-land than to commit such a sin."

So much for the older annalist. "Let the motive be what it may," writes Geijer, in his comment upon the passage, "he is powerful who bargains not with his duty. It is that principle which guards the frontier of a State and lends increase to dominion." Ivan, at his death, recommended his son to make peace. John rejected the terms. A peace, however, was eventually made, though disturbances of a new kind, and in a somewhat different quarter, succeeded. These were the results of an arrangement, which gave Poland its last opportunity of dividing her influence in these parts with Sweden.

After the death of Stephen Bathory, the Crown of Poland became vacant, and Sigismund, the son of John, who had married Catherine, the last of the Yagellon princesses, and the sister of Bathory's widow, was elected against the powerful interest of the Archduke Maximilian. The difficulties that this introduced were of the gravest kind. His father was still alive, so that, though King of Poland, he was only Crown Prince of Sweden. The national religion of the Poles was Romanism. The Swedes were Protestants; though not, as yet, such strong and almost fanatic Protestants as they became under the great Gustavus. As Henry IV. was in respect to Navarre and France: so was Sigismund in respect to Sweden and Poland. The creed which was compatible with one crown was impossible for the other. The sacrifice which this involved, had it come to one, and had the King been free to determine it, would have been made in favour of Rome. We know, however, that no such sacrifice was required. A.D. 1586.

The transactions that followed are characterized by anything but good faith on the part of Sigismund. The two Swedish diplo-

matists who had the most to do with the agreement guaranteed that that portion of Livonia which belonged to Sweden should be incorporated with Lithuania, and, as a part of Lithuania, be also incorporated with Poland. Had this been done, an arrangement too fortunate to occur in history would have been effected, and, with the exception of its Fin and German elements, the Duchy of Lithuania would have taken a truly Lithuanic augment. Poland, too, would have been strengthened on the Baltic, and the Russians permanently beaten-off from the coast of the Gulf of Finland. The act, however, of the councillors, Eric Sparre and Eric Brahe, was repudiated by their Government, and Sigismund, when he arrived in Poland, refused to confirm the cession—not absolutely and for ever, but until the death of his father, when, instead of being Crown Prince, he would be King. In this, the Poles, who seem to have been easily satisfied, acquiesced; and Sigismund was crowned at Cracow. The further details of this complicated arrangement belong to the civil history of Sweden, rather than to an ethnological notice of Livonia and Estonia; and, in the civil history of Sweden, they are of the greatest interest. It turned upon John and Sigismund whether Sweden was to have a king who was half a Romanist or a Gustavus Adolphus. Without, however, going into these details, we may state that, notwithstanding the claims of Sigismund as John's son, the successor to John was Charles—his brother; the youngest of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, and, with all his faults, the noblest.

Sigismund remained King of Poland; and, from Poland, maintained his pretensions: so that the war with Livonia devolved upon Charles IX.; in which he was more than merely unsuccessful. The battle of Kexholm seems to have been disgracefully lost against an inferior force. The men "ran, and let their backs be hacked like a flock of poultry fleeing before a small body, where they were four or five to one, and leaving us on the field." The horse that bore the king was killed under him, when a *Livonian* nobleman, Henry of Wrede, gave him his, and met his own death on foot. His widow and children were rewarded by manors in Finland. Livonia, however, remained Swedish; for Charles IX. was, on the whole, a successful guardian of the honour of his country. His immediate successors were this and more.

"I have," writes the historian of Sweden, "to the best of my ability sought impartially to pourtray the youngest and greatest son of Gustavus; in many qualities his father's heir, in others both below, and perchance also above him. Only one feature is to be added, since even on the brink of the grave it still strikes the eye in him, and since in some measure it should mitigate our judgment of his blood-stained path; it is his inborn striving to grasp across every limit, beyond every goal to set another. He battled for himself a crown. At this point another would have halted; to him it was so little the greatest, the sole aim, that he left it les decided than he might. Whereas the strife ensuing, which from Sigismund's slowness and irresolution might, for some time longer at least, have been waged by words and manifestoes, he straightway removed out of Sweden to Livonia, Poland, and Russia, nor did the outbreak of war with Denmark prevent him from mustering as it were in his last gasp the members of a future league against the Papacy and the house of Hapsburg; as in his testament he especially recommends to his children friendship with the evangelical princes of Germany. Thus in the soul of Charles perchance more than in any of his contemporaries, laboured the burning future which burst forth in the Thirty Years' War; and not without significance was he wont to observe, laying his hand on the head of the young Gustavus Adolphus, "*Ille faciet*" (he will do it). Such men verily there are, full of the hereafter, who, with or without their own will and intent, carry the nations onward at their side. Except his father, no man before him exercised so deep an influence on the Swedish people. More than a hundred years passed away, and a like personal influence was still reigning upon the throne of Sweden. The nation, hard to move save for immediate self-defence, was borne along, unwilling and yet admiring, repugnant yet loving; as by some potent impulsion, following her Gustaves and Charleses to victory, fame, and to the verge of perdition. This is neither praise nor blame; but so it was. And as I write the history of the Swedish people, I feel as strongly as may be, that it is the history of their kings." *

From the time when Eric, the son of Gustavus Vasa, wrote himself "Lord of Reval and Livonia" to the peace of Nystadt is one hundred and sixty years; during the whole of which time Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, and the southern parts of Finland are little more than battlefields for Russia, Sweden, and Poland—for Russia and Sweden as the principals, but for Poland as a subordinate; although not always and only so. After the death of Kettler, Curland was a fief of Poland's. A part, too, of Livonia was Polish; and, perhaps, on the Lithuanian frontier, a part of Estonia as well. At whatever time we take the history of this period the same names appear and re-appear: the same towns being besieged, with the same spots witnessing the same battles between the same combatants. The cessions, too, of territory repeat themselves. Does Russia succeed in fighting her way towards the locality of her present capital, and gaining a port on the Baltic,

A.D. 1721.

* From the English translation of Geijer's History of Sweden. Conclusion of the reign of Charles IX.

it is certain parts of Ingria that are ceded to her by Sweden, and when under a change of fortune she recedes, it is certain parts of Ingria which Sweden takes back. The same is the case on the northern side of the Gulf of Finland; in Finland Proper and Karelia. It is the Government of Viborg and the fortress of Kexholm that we meet and meet again—sometimes Russian, sometimes Swedish, just as if it were their business to be always changing hands. In like manner, Reval, Riga, and Narva are always being besieged or relieved; so that Estonia and Livonia are ever under the miseries of war. We must, for most purposes, take them together; for though, in their ethnology, they differ from one another more than Livonia and Cúrland, they agree in their political history: both being more Swedish than Polish.

As far as the mere breadth of the Baltic, and its distance by sea from its southern ports is concerned, Cúrland is nearer to Sweden than either Livonia or Estonia. This, however, is not the measure we must use. Finland, from the eleventh century, or earlier, to 1808, was Swedish, and it was as a country in contact with Finland that Estonia became Swedish also; Estonia, and, with it, Livonia—for the line of demarcation which is drawn between them is, to a great extent, artificial. All the northern part of Livonia is occupied by a continuation of the native occupants of Estonia. Upon this, however, more will be said as we proceed.

With Finland, on the one side, and Estonia and Livonia, on the other, either actually held or claimed and coveted by Sweden; with the Gulf of Finland running far inland, and, to a great extent, separating the two districts, the interjacent country of Ingria (the present Government of St. Petersburg) was, pre-eminently, a bone of contention. Sweden wanted it to keep up the continuity of its possessions. For Russia it contained the only point at which she could touch the Baltic. In Ingria lay the port for Novogorod, Tver, and all the midland districts of Moscovy. Indeed, except for what was to be obtained in Ingria, Russia had no port but Archangel: since Azov, the one by which she first found an outlet to the Black Sea and Mediterranean, was, until Peter the Great's time, in the hands of the Turks —as were all the parts between the Lower Don and the Lower Danube.

Upon the whole, Ingria *was* Russian; and, upon the whole, there *was* a discontinuity in the area held by Sweden on the two sides of the Gulf of Finland—a discontinuity which is ethnological and religious as well as historical. Finland is Fin and Protestant, and Estonia is Fin and Protestant—but Ingria, or the Government of St. Petersburg, though there are fragments of a Fin population within its boundaries, is Russian in language and Greek in creed. So it is now, from the fact of so vast a capital as St. Petersburg belonging to it. But so it was, to a great extent, a hundred and fifty years before St. Petersburg was founded.

Charles XII., at the age of nineteen, has succeeded to the crown of Sweden, and the Elector of Saxony, the King of Denmark, and the Czar have entered into a league against him. They are to divide among them all his Non-swedish possessions. The Czar is Peter the Great; and the Elector of Saxony is also the King of Poland. We must distinguish between the two dignities. The Poles did so, and we must do the same. It was as Elector of Saxony that he joined the league against Charles. As king of Poland, he could do but little against him: for, however much the case of Sweden may have been a true partition, or however much it may be excused as having been nothing worse than an amputation or mutilation, and however much it may (from the fact of a king of Poland having been a party to it) wear the garb of a precedent that fell back upon its originators, it is nothing of the kind as far as regards Poland. It has nothing of the Nemesis (to use a hack platitude) about it. It was the achievement, in a small way, of the Elector of Saxony's; and it was not achieved off-hand. How Charles dissipated the thunder-cloud which had crowded together over his head and which had begun to burst, is a matter for either the personal biographer or the historian of Sweden. He broke and scattered it for a time.

Peter, when it was first charged with its terrors, had, after the manner of all the Czars, a Turkish war on hand; of which he contrived to clear himself in time to move towards Estonia, when the Elector appeared before Riga—appeared before Riga only half harnessed for the campaign. This was at the head of a foreign army. Meanwhile the factions of the country itself

were to be utilized by the miserable Patkul—Patkul who was afterwards betrayed by the Saxon Elector, and disgracefully murdered (tortured on the wheel) by Charles. He was a brave man, Charles—and a relentless one. Paykull's fate as well as Patkul's disgraces him. Paykull and Patkul, though Livonians in name, seem to have been Germans in blood—the name being taken from the estate—or rather, the name being no name at all, but a title. Patkul, however, at the time when the Elector failed before Riga, failed himself. Neither the nobles nor the people answered his call: a fact which gives us one of the few measures we have of the feeling of Livonia towards Sweden. Even here, it is only a measure of her feeling in favour of Sweden as against Poland represented by Saxony—none whatever of her feeling in favour of Sweden as against Russia. The Saxons withdrew from Riga. The Saxons then attempted Riga again. They withdrew again. Again, and for a third time, they attempted it, and withdrew; when peace was concluded with Denmark.

Estonia was as Livonia; harassed by the Czar, even as Livonia was harassed by the Elector. But the great Swedish victory at Narva checked this. After that Lithuania, or, at least, the Sapiehas, joined themselves to Charles; and the Elector of Brandenburgh, ambitious of becoming King of Prussia, made a fourth in the party of partitioners. He, too, had something in Pomerania and Prussia to get out from the wreck of the Swedish domains in Germany.

Meanwhile, Charles was acting on the offensive in Cúrland; for Cúrland was a fief of Poland's, and (with its Grand-duke married to the niece of Peter), prospectively, an annexation of Russia's. He took Dünamünde; passed the Dwina in the face of Russians, and pushed-on for Poland. Peter, meanwhile, gathered together the fragments of the army that had been beaten at Narva, and taught them to conquer by a campaign in Estonia and Livonia. He looked to the possession of these as a secondary affair, Ingria and the southern parts of Finland being his immediate objects. These he eventually made his own—as he, also, made Livonia and Estonia. Before Ingria had become Russian, and before it was wrested from Sweden, he laid the foundations of St. Petersburg.

For dealing with such a pigmy as the Elector, and neglecting

such a giant as the Czar, Charles has been blamed—perhaps rightly. But he judged for himself. "Be assured," he writes in one of his despatches, "if I could rely upon the word of King Augustus, I would immediately leave him in peace. But if peace were concluded and we marched into Russia, he would instantly accept Russian money and fall upon us in the rear, and then our affairs would be in a greater state of entanglement than at present. What Livonia suffers in the mean time may be made good by conferring privileges and acts of grace when God gives us peace."

And Livonia suffered. Lewenhaupt, whom Charles left in the country, did all that a great general could do; possibly more than the conqueror at Narva himself would have done. However, Pultava was lost; and, when the Peace of Nystadt was effected, Livonia and Estonia became Russian. So they are now. So they were during the whole interval. A few years afterwards Cúrland became Russian also.

It was the Peace of Nystadt which, following the death of Charles XII., was the result of the humiliations and defeats with which the latter half of his reign was clouded. It was the measure, too, of the weakness of Sweden. As far, indeed, as the Baltic provinces were concerned it was a Partition of Sweden. A.D. 1721.

## CHAPTER XI.

### Poland from the Battle of Jena to the Treaty of Vienna.

I PASS *sicco pede* over the last years of the last century, and over the first six of the present, until I reach the day and field of Jena. The great battle then fought reduced Prussia to its lowest state; and it must be remembered that it was the hands of Prussia, and not of Russia, into which Poland Proper, as opposed to Lithuania and the outlying provinces, had been delivered. We must remember that the services of thousands of Poles had been given to France, and that there was no field of battle in which they had not shown more than ordinary bravery. They had been a strong weapon in the hands of a protectress, who had wielded it as she chose. Their services had engendered hopes, and the promises of the emperor had encouraged them.

Prussia was at its worst when the understanding between France and Russia effected by the treaty of Tilsit was at its best; when Austria was quiescent; when the affairs in the Peninsula had yet to take a turn; and when Louis Buonaparte was King of Holland, with Jerome Buonaparte King of Westphalia. It was a time when ephemeral kingdoms were not only called into existence, but strengthened at the expense of the Powers on their frontier; when Russia made over Jever, and Prussia East Friesland, to Holland; when, not only small principalities like Eichfeld, Ravensborg, and Stolberg, but such districts as Osnaburg, Electoral Hesse, and Brunswick, were incorporated with Westphalia; when Murat was Grand Duke of Berg; and when Bavaria and Saxony were to be strengthened at the expense of Austria and Prussia; Saxony, more especially, at that of not only Prussia but the Polish part of Prussia.

Prussia's humiliation was Poland's opportunity; and the heart of every Pole beat high when Berlin was occupied by the army of Jena. The power of Napoleon, to those who measured it merely by his victories, seemed inordinate; to those who measured it by their own hopes and fears, unlimited. And the Poles of all the nations of the world most measured it by their hopes. They had risked life, shed blood, and helped to conquer in almost every country of Europe. Beyond, even, the Atlantic, under the burning sun, and in the malarious jungles of St. Domingo, the Polish Soldiery had been at the service of France—of France under the Republic, or France under the Empire. And under both they had been taught to hope for the restoration of their country—by Napoleon himself the most of all. Eloquent, not to say magniloquent, addresses on the eve of his numerous battles, had been made to the Polish regiments on every field, from that of Marengo to that of Jena itself: with promises to match elsewhere.

There was hope, then, and there were reasonable grounds for it. At the same time, there was much that should correct or limit it. The close of the Italian campaign had seen the patriots,—Kosciuszko among them—expectant, anxious, disappointed. Indeed, Kosciuszko himself had come, unwillingly, to the conclusion that much was not to be expected from France. Nor were the promises of Napoleon himself of any very definite kind. They suggested much more than they asserted. They inspired vague expectations. The sanguine desires of those to whom they were addressed did the rest.

I cannot, then, commit myself to that over-strong and over-angry language, in which the conduct of Napoleon, after his great victory of Jena, towards the Poles is so often and so readily condemned—and that not only in Poland itself, but in countries where the question ought to be more dispassionately considered. His power was, doubtless, great: yet, great as it was, there were serious checks to it—actual as well as prospective. Austria was emerging from the sea of troubles under which she had sunk at Austerlitz; Russia was nearly intact: England wholly so.

And something *was* done. The restoration of Poland is one thing, the reconstitution of the Polish Empire another. Should England after incredible and irremediable disasters be not only brought to the foot of a conqueror, but reduced to the condition

in which her weakness should be her only strength, and her only hope the sympathies and the jealousies of the rest of Europe, what would be her legitimate claims upon some friendly sovereign who, during her depression, had manned his fleet with her sailors, and fed them with promises that, if certain great victories were won, "the flag of England should still blaze like a meteor," that "Britannia should still rule the waves," and the like—for this is the way in which he would have to address them? What would be her *legitimate* claims? Not that India, and Canada, and the Cape, and Demerara, and the Ionian Islands, and Malta, and Gibraltar, &c., should be restored, but simply that the British Isles should return to a Government of their own choice; to the independent exercise of their industry; to the free use of their wealth; perhaps, also, to Trial by Jury and a Press without a censor. More than this we might doubtless like. More than this we might probably demand. Less than this, we should, assuredly, obtain—and, as assuredly, the world at large would think that, in obtaining it, we had gotten enough.

However, Poland *was*, to some extent, restored: and that as a joint kingdom with Saxony. The Elector of Saxony was to be King of Poland. In pursuance of this plan, the town of Dantzig was to be declared a free Republic, and a territory of some few miles round was to be assigned to it. But it was to be regulated by a French official, and a French army was to garrison it. When these were withdrawn it was to be placed under the protection of Saxony. Then, that portion of Polish Prussia which had fallen to her share by the treaty of 1788, was ceded to France, and made over by France to the King of Saxony; just as in our own time Lombardy, before it became Sardinian, passed through the hands of the French emperor, as broker. A section, however, in the transfer was reserved for Russia.

The Elector of Saxony took the title of King, granted a Constitution, and by the middle of the following year was fighting in the service of the Emperor against Austria. His troops were chiefly on the Danube, and the King himself was absent from his kingdom. This exposed both Saxony and Poland, and the campaign in Poland of the Archduke Ferdinand was the result. The Russians, though allied with France, were more than lukewarm in

the cause; and the Russian generals are believed, on reasonable grounds, to have been ordered to do as little harm as they could. The Polish army, though one of the weakest, had much imposed on it. Poniatovski, who commanded it, had not only to defend Warsaw, but, in conjunction with a Russian army that was a long time coming, to occupy Austrian Silesia and Gallicia. On the 21st of April, the Saxon troops, the French minister, and the commandant evacuated Warsaw, and the Austrians entered it. After this, the Archduke marched in the direction of Prussia, towards Thorn and Posen, relying on the patriotism of the Prussians, when he was recalled by the movements of the French and Poles whom he had left in his rear. On the very day on which he was ordering an attack upon Thorn, the Polish general took Sendomir, having, four days before, taken Lublin. He then marched upon Cracow, but before he had reached that city the Russians had prepared themselves for their share in the alliance with the French: and the armies entered the town together.

In 1811 and 1812, when the feeling toward Russia had changed, and the inordinate preparations for the fatal march to Moscow were going on, the chief influence in Warsaw was French. It was French so far as the alliance of the King of Saxony with Napoleon could make it, and it was French on the strength of the direct intercourse which from the end of the previous century had always existed between France and Poland. What with his emissaries in the capital, what with the union of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Saxony, and what with the Polish regiments, in the French armies there were ample and abundant means for getting-up a French feeling as opposed to a Russian one. It was easy to raise a great Polish army by promising the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland. It was easy to allay the jealousy of Austria by strong assurances that the integrity of her territory, so far as the accessions at the expense of Poland were concerned, should be respected. It was easy to assure Russia that, on no considerations whatever, should the Kingdom of Poland be re-constituted. All this was easy when the details were taken separately—but it was not easy to combine the separate processes. It was, by no means, easy to quiet Austria, to hoodwink Russia, and to stimulate Poland.

For some time, however, the agreement with Austria was kept secret, and the Poles were taught to believe that it was for separate substantive interests of their own that they were to arm. Russia's danger is Poland's opportunity. "War impends. Should "it break out, Poland has a chance which she has not had before, "and which she will err in losing. Let her act on her own account. "France will be an ally. But the efforts must be extraordinary, "and every Pole must be in the saddle." Such is the matter of one of the instructions transmitted by Napoleon to Bignon, who was minister, or manager, in Warsaw, and afterwards in Wilna. He had been sent, in the beginning of 1811, when the breach between Russia and France was unavoidable. He had a difficult part to play, for the Poles were decided in their specific demand that, if they armed for France, France must re-establish their kingdom. And yet negotiations were going on with the Czar. In Modlin, Zamosc, and Thorn, the fortifications were improved, the garrisons strengthened, and the ardent soldiers who believed that nothing was impossible to Napoleon, were ready, at a word, to pass the frontier and to act offensively against their old enemy. Contagious excitement pervaded all ranks. The women,—amongst them the wives and daughters of the highest nobles—busied themselves in making lint and bandages, just as the ladies in Paris made them during the Crimean war. For all such service there was ample acknowledgment in general language; but a specific promise of a restoration was not forthcoming as expected. Neither was money. *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappodocum rex.* "I have plenty of fortresses; I have more than enough of soldiers in Poland," said the King of Saxony, "but I have not the money to pay or equip them." In truth, there was a want of even the necessary clothing for the regiments.

When Bignon went to Wilna, De Pradt, Archbishop of Malines, succeeded him at Warsaw. A Diet was called, and dissolved. A Confederation replaced it. Then there was a general Council, at the head of which was De Pradt. Finally, there was the Executive, consisting of the ministers of the King of Saxony, who had much influence in Dresden and Leipsic, but little in Warsaw and Cracow. Meanwhile, Napoleon's language was indefinite—encouraging at first, disheartening afterwards; and when the agreement with Austria, by which her permanent possession of

Gallicia was guaranteed became known, it spread a heavy gloom over the whole length and breadth of the land.

Still, the whole force of Poland was put at Napoleon's disposal during the Russian campaign; and when the retreat was over, the Poles reached Poland with all their guns, and with a smaller loss than any other portion of the troops.

## CHAPTER XII.

The Estonians.—Their Fin Affinities.—Their Poetry.

ESTONIA is the third of what are sometimes called the Baltic, and sometimes the German, Provinces of Russia; Livonia and Cúrland being the other two. The process by which they all three became Germanized was the same. Like Cúrland and Liefland, Estonia was conquered by the Knights of the Sword; and, like the Liefländers and the Cúrlanders, the Estonians were reduced to the condition of serfs. The serfs, however, who, in Cúrland, were almost exclusively Letts, and in Livonia were Letts and Fins in something like equal proportions, were, in Estonia, almost wholly Fins. Indeed, in the way of ethnology, Estonia begins on the river Salis; and, so doing, includes nearly all the northern half of Livonia.

The Fin element, then—and it is the fact of the Estonians being Fins rather than either Germans or Lithuanians which is the important point in their ethnology—is common to both Liefland and Estonia; being paramount in Estonia.

*Mutatis mutandis*, the histories of the two countries are in the same predicament. That of Liefland was mixed with Sweden. That of Estonia is more Swedish still. This, however, no one need enlarge on; since the general character of the relations of Estonia to Sweden has already been given. They were in Estonia much the same as they were in Liefland.

Of the Baltic, or German, Provinces of Russia, Estonia, is the one where the Fin and Swedish elements are at the maximum.

Its ordinary name is German; Estonia being but a Latin form of Estland, *i. e.* the Eastern Land. Word for word, this coincides with the term *Æstyii* in Tacitus—word for word, but not place for

place. The *Æstyii* of Tacitus lay between the Vistula and the Niemen, and were the ancestors of the true Prussians; as is inferred from the fact of the amber country being their occupancy. To the informants of Tacitus this was the *Eastern* end of the Baltic; the coast of which, after we pass Konigsberg, suddenly turns northwards. It was only in after times that *Estland* meant the parts along the Gulf of Finland, or the *extreme* East.

The name by which the Estonians designate themselves is *Rahwa*; and as *ma*, in Estonian, means *land*, the native name for Estland is *Marahwa=Rahwaland.*

Estonia, rather than Livonia, is the Land of the Rahwas merely because it is exclusively Rahwa—Rahwa purely and simply rather than Rahwa and Lett. Looking, however to the *numbers* alone, *half* Livonia is more than *all* Estonia.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Liefland, the Rahwa amount to | | | 355,216. |
| Estonia, | ,, | ,, | 252,608. |
| Vitepsk, | ,, | ,, | 9,936. |
| Pleskov, or Pskov, | | ,, | 8,000. |
| St. Petersburg, | | ,, | 7,736. |
| | | | 633,496. |

Some of the purest blood in Europe must be to be found amongst the southern, the eastern, and the central Rahwas, the admixture of foreign elements being the greatest on the northern and western frontiers. In the south, too, and the east, the greatest number of national characteristics presents itself; and that in the way of physiognomy, in the way of manners and customs, and in the way of language.

All these characteristics are definite and decided. In respect to his physical conformation, especially that of the cranium, the Estonian has had more than his share of attention: more particularly the Estonian of the parts about Dorpat. Here it is where the purity of the blood is at its *maximum*, and here it is where the careful and acute *savans* of the Dorpat University have found the chief field for their investigations.

The results of these are clear. In many notable points the Rahwa conformation differs not only from that of the Russians,

and Germans but from that of the Fins as well. With the Letts fewer comparisons have been made.

The skull is pre-eminently angular; nothing being rarer than a truly round one. It is large as compared with the face-bones; square, and nearly as broad in front as it is at the occiput. The forehead is low; the margins of the orbits comparatively straight; the space between the nostrils and the mouth short. This gives breadth, rather than length, to the face, which is more small than large; while the skin is glabrous; the hair blond, flaxen, yellow, and brown, rather than black—oftenest yellow. The beard is scanty, the openings of the eyelids narrow. The trunk is said to be inordinately large as compared with the lower extremities, the chest being small. Whether these be the exact details or not, the bodily proportions of the Rahwa are neither massive nor graceful. Generations after generations of servitude, depression, labour, and poverty have not passed over them without leaving traces of their influence. Heavy, muscular, and well-grown men amongst them are rare; rarer in the parts about Dorpat than elsewhere. This, it should be remarked, is a point upon which there is a fair amount of independent evidence; it being most expressly stated, by more observers than one, that there is a difference in size between the Rahwas of Dorpat and the Rahwas of the sea-coast; and that the difference is in favour of the former. The Dorpat men are small.

The Estonian's habits and industry are those that arise out of his country and condition, which are nearly those of Livonia.

In the ordinary works on comparative philology, the Estonian language is divided into two main dialects; one with Reval, the other with Dorpat, as its centre; so that we hear of the Dorpatian and the Revalian forms of speech as paramount. I believe, however, that almost every parish presents some peculiarities, and I am, by no means, sure that the distribution of the numerous dialects and sub-dialects thus developed, corresponds with the usual classification. Nevertheless, it represents the written languages; for there is the Reval New Testament, and there is the Dorpat New Testament, each exhibiting notable peculiarities.

*Reval.*

Meie issa, kes sa olled Taewas,
Pühhitsetud sago sinno Nimmi;
Sinno Riik tulgo;
Sinno Tahtminne sündko, kui Taewas, nenda
ka Mapeäl;
Meie iggapäwase Leiwa anna meile tännapääw;
Ja anna andeks meile meie Wöllad, kui ka meie
andeks anname omma Wölglastele;
Ja ärra sata meid mitte Kiusatusse sisse;
Waid peästa maid ärra sest Kurjast.
Sest sinno pärralt on se Riik, ja se Wäg-
gi, ja se Auwustus, iggawest. Amen.

*Dorpat.*

Meije issa Taiwan,
Pühhändatus sago sinno Nimmi;
Sinno Rikkus tulgo;
Sinno Tahtminne sündko, kui Taiwan, nida
ka Mapääl.
Meije päiwalikko Leiba anna meile täämba;
Nink anna meile Andis meije Süda, nida kui
ka meije andissanname ommille Süüdleisille;
Nink ärrasaatko meid mitte Kiusatusse sisse;
Enge pästa meid ärra Kurjast.
Sest sinno perralt om Rikkus, nink
Wäggi, nink Auwustus, iggawetsel ajal.
Amen.

The purity of the Estonian's blood is an inference from the general history of the country; though upon this point we argue from our ignorance rather than our knowledge. He seems to be aboriginal to the soil; in other words, we know of no population that has any pretension to having settled on it before him; and we know of no land, beyond the limits of Estonia, from which he has ever been derived. Indeed, there is no need to look for it. He seems to be what we may call *in situ*. There are Russians, indeed, on the frontier, just as there are Germans and Lithuanians; and, upon the circumference of the Estonian area, Germans, Lithuanians, and Russians have made considerable encroachments and effected deep indentations. The centre, however, is, comparatively, intact. No one can be shown to have been in Estonia before the ancestors of the present occupants; and no one has intruded himself upon Estonian soil in after-times. The stock seems indigenous. Grafts there are few or none.

The Estonian instrument is the harp, of which the following short poem gives us the early history.

On the pathway sang the women;
On the pathway, on the roadway,
Bridesmaids singing in the village.

On the way to church I sang;
In the porch and in the church.

My step-sisters murdered me;
With a round stone like an egg;
With a sharp axe.

Whither did they take the maiden?
To the moor with the bright berries.
What grew out of her?
Then grew out of her a noble birch-tree,
And it shed a smell around it.

What came out of the birch-tree?
The birch-tree was made into a harp;
It was cut into a fiddle.

What made the frame of the harp?
It was made of the gills of a salmon,
Out of the hard teeth of a pike.

And what were the harp-strings made of?
Out of the hair of the beautiful bride,
Out of the locks of the chickie-biddy.

But where were the players on the harp,
The players of the harp in the hall?
Brother, dear brother,
Take the harp to the hall,
Lean it against the wainscot,
Put your thumb to it,
Put the tips of your fingers,
Strike sharp with the iron.

The spell of the strings of the brothers sounded
With the sorrows of the only harp,
As when Vierland's maidens weep—
The sorrows of the bridesmaids of Harland
Going forth from the house of the father,
Going forth from the house of the mother,
Going out to the house of the bridegroom
Going out to the house of the husband.

With this harp did the native bards wander from place to place as the harvest-home or the wedding-feast might tempt them. There are none such now alive, the last having died in 1813. He had no fixed residence; but was known and welcomed, whithersoever he chose to roam, as the *wanna laulumies*, or the old singer.

Neuss, whose account I am following, maintains that the true and genuine popular minstrelsy died out with him, perhaps a little before his time. At the beginning of the last century it flourished; towards the end of it declined. At the beginning of the last century, religious and other compositions, after German models, were afloat in Estonia; but only as oil on water. They touched the native style; but without affecting it. *Now*, however, they are imitated; and, just in proportion as these prevail, the older poetry dies out.

The following, in its extreme simplicity, seems of genuine Estonian growth.

Tibbonibbo went into the wood,
Kulaind went into the wood,
I went into the wood likewise.

Tibbonibbo took a gun,
Kulaind took a gun,
I took a gun likewise.

Tibbonibbo shot a bear,
Kulaind shot a bear,
I shot a bear likewise.

Tibbonibbo tore the hide off,
Kulaind tore the hide off,
I tore the hide off likewise.

Tibbonibbo took the money,
Kulaind took the money,
I took the money likewise.

Tibbonibbo went to the alehouse,
Kulaind went to the alehouse,
I went to the alehouse likewise.

Tibbonibbo drank the ale,
Kulaind drank the ale,
I drank the ale likewise.

Tibbonibbo was taken,
Kulaind was taken,
I was taken likewise.

Tibbonibbo went to prison,
Kulaind went to prison,
I went to prison likewise.

Of all the rivers of Estonia the holiest and the most awful is the Wohhanda, a feeder of the Meddä, which falls into Lake Peipus. In the olden time no Estonian would fell any tree that grew on its banks, or break any of the reeds that fringed its

watercourse. If he did he would die within the year. The brook, along with the spring, that gave it birth, was purified periodically, and it was believed, that, if dirt were thrown into either, bad weather would be the result. Gutslaf tells a tale of a bold, bad German, whose hardihood and avarice induced him to build a mill across its stream and to stop its waters with his dam. Soon after the grinding had begun, a bad season set in; and lasted as long as the building stood, which was only until the peasants of the parish and parts around became incendiaries and burnt the whole establishment down to the very ground. Earlier still, tradition speaks of offerings (sometimes of little children) having been made to Wohhanda; the river God being a little man in blue and yellow stockings, sometimes visible to mortal eye, resident in the stream and in the habit of occasionally rising out of it.

The Embach, too, is holy; indeed it is called the Mother River.

It is not all who are happy,
Nor is the happiness to all, nor the good-fortune
To walk along the mother-river,
Looking on the mother's foam,
Listening to the mother's murmur,
Sailing on the mother's back,
Looking on the mother's eyes,
Seeing yourself again.

With the song about Tibbonibbo contrast a Christmas carol, for such the following seems to be: though in Estonia, as in Lithuania, sacred poetry is scarce.

Jesus walked along the pathway;
Mary went along the pathway;
Little Jesus met her.

"Welcome, welcome little Jesus;
Have you seen my son, my darling?
Go now to Jerusalem."

"What does he in foreign countries?
Is he sleeping, is he waking?"
"He is deeply, deeply moaning;
On the river-side, a spear is."
"Why are spears on river-sides?"

Through the world he wanders lonely;
Devils tempt him, Devils tempt him;
Angels call him, full of pity;

Open wide the doors of Heaven,
Raise aloft the gates of Heaven,
Jesus enters.

All along a golden pathway,
God Almighty shows himself;
Walking on towards the sheep-pen.

On the cross he took his payment;
On the cross he hung;
From morn to evening groaning

Of this the following is a variant.

Mary walked along the pathway
Looking for her son.

'Son, son, why waitest thou
Wakest or sleepest?
All long for you."

"Who longs for me?
My blood is shed,
My blood is like the sea."

On the sea there stands a spear.
What does the spear there?
It goes through the world,
When the Devil tempts.

The angels walk their way,
And burn white candles;
Made out of my agony,
Made out of my blood.

Ah me! miserable man,
I must hence to Hell.
There are two ways on earth to go,
One to Heaven, one to Hell;
Is it not shame and sin?
Where you go, bestir yourselves.
Ever think on death,
Quicken your lamps, with the oil of life.

How the Rainbow was made is told in the following.

The Rain had five children,
Foster-children at the font;
The first lived in the cradle of the sea,
The second lived in the lap of a lake,
The third was the foster-child of the springs,
The fourth lived as a maid in the river,
The fifth was a widow of the fountains.

They flew up aloft to the clouds
To build the bridge of the rain;
And they wove the woof of the mist
Of the line of gold.

They made the vapour—
Of the red of the Sunset its lining.
The path of the Maker they made like a bow,
And the bridge of Mary bright blue.

A still freer play of fancy is found in the history of the man of straw; in whom we are supposed to see an emblem of the peasant or husbandman as favourably contrasted with the soldier, the merchant, and the noble.

Let us go and row upon the sea!
The men go along the sea,
The women go along the River of the Water-falls.

What man comes out of the sea?
A man of gold comes out of the sea,
On his head a hat of gold,
On his hat a garland of gold.

On his feet boots of gold,
On his boots spurs of gold.

On his hands gloves of gold,
On his gloves rings of gold.

Along the sea go the men,
Along the River of the Water-fall go the women.

What man comes out of the sea?
A man of silver comes out of the sea.

On his head a hat of silver,
On his hat a garland of silver.

On his feet boots of silver,
On his boots spurs of silver.

On his hands gloves of silver,
On his gloves rings of silver.

Along the sea go the men,
Along the River of the Water-fall go the women.

What man comes out of the sea?
An iron man comes out of the sea.

On his head a hat of brass,
On his hat a garland of brass.

On his feet boots of brass,
On his boots spurs of brass.

On his hands gloves of brass,
On his gloves rings of brass.

Along the sea go the men,
Along the River of the Water-fall go the women.

What man comes out of the sea?
A man of straw comes out of the sea.

On his head a hat of straw,
On his hat a garland of straw.

On his feet boots of straw,
On his boots spurs of straw.

On his hands gloves of straw,
On his gloves rings of straw.

To him the mother promised her,
To him the father gave her,
To him the brothers sold her:
The sisters drank the ale.

## The Shepherd and Little Fish, or the War and the Refuge.

Willie, the keeper of the lambs,
Willie of the meadow, Willie of the field;
Knew the sun, knew the moon,
Knew the stars of the sky;
Knew that war was coming.
But he told what he knew
To none of his mates—
He told it only to his golden sweetheart.

His sweetheart told it to the boy,
The boy told the master,
The master to the wise woman,
The wise woman to the little water,
The little water to the daughter of the water,
The daughter of the water to the little fish,
The little fish to the man who brought the cattle to drink,
The man who brought the cattle to drink to me,
I to my mother.

The mother divided her house,
Took away the children,
In the hollows, in the woods,
In the cracks of the stones,
In breakings of the slabs.

Fall down stone, fall down slab,
Fall down slab, fall down band.
Fall stone, break slab,
Fall slab, break band,
Fall tree, break all.

*Majora canamus*—beginning with a fragment of Estonian cosmogony.

The eagle of the north, the cunning bird,
Built a nest in the island's fir-trees,
In the middle of the rocks of Kalleva.

There were in the nest three eggs;
Two were of the hen of the eagle,

The third was of the hen of Kalleva.
This was the nest-egg of Kalleva.

The eagle flew forth to Finland,
Thence from Finland through Saxony.

Secretly did I slip to the nest,
Took the egg of Kalleva,
Carried it to the town,
Raised it with a crane into a boat,
Hastened homewards in the skiff.

The egg sunk to the bottom of the sea;
Smashed in two on the rocks.

Out of one shell came a man of war;
Out of the other was a merchantman;
Out of the shard barges.
Out of the yolk came Kargesare,
Out of the white came Tutlarsare,
Out of the embryo the other islands.

*Majora canamus*—continuing with a sample of Estonian romance.

Out I went a-binding besoms,
Golden besoms of the fir-trees,
Silver besoms from the aspens,
From the leaves of stalwart oak-trees.
In my arm the knife I held,
Under my arm a ringing iron,
Under my breast a bright iron.
I came to the hill of Hollevi.*
There came to me a child of Sullevi;
Sullevi's Kallevi's child
Snatched a kiss of me,
A bold kiss; took my hand.
I, a bird, gave no one kisses,
Nor turned my head under the garland.
In my hand a knife I held,
Under arm a ringing iron,
Under breast a bright iron.
Quick I struck the child of Kullevi,
Quick I struck the child of Sullevi,
Quick I struck him through the heart,
Through the liver, too, I bored him,
Through the lung I turned it inwards;
Went back crying to the homestead.
And the motherkin she asked me,
And the fatherkin he asked me,
Daughter, daughter, why so criest thou?
Straightway, then, I told my mother
Why it was that I was crying.

* St. Olaf.

Out I went a-binding besoms,
Golden besoms of the fir-trees,
Silver besoms from the aspens,
From the leaves of stout oak-trees.
In my arm the knife I held,
Under my arm a ringing iron,
Under my breast a bright iron.
I came to the hill of Hollevi;
There came to me a child of Sullevi;
Sullevi's Kallevi's child
Snatched a kiss of me,
A bold kiss; took my hand.
I, a bird, gave no one kisses,
Nor turned my head under the garland.
In my hand a knife I held,
Under arm a ringing iron,
Under breast a bright iron.
Quick I struck the child of Kullevi,
Quick I struck the child of Sullevi,
Quick I struck him through the heart,
Through the liver, too, I bored him.
Through the lung I turned it inwards.

Much at that my mother pondered,
Much at that my father pondered.
Daughter, thou hast done it rightly,
Killing so the savage monster,
Else hadst thou thy kindred slandered,
Else hadst thou thy father blackened,
Else hadst thou thy brother perilled,
Else hadst thou beshamed thy sisters.
Never-ending shame to sisters,
Curse of lying to thy kindred.
It was thou, thy father's ale,
It was thou, thy brothers' malt,
It was thou that hadst to watch them;
All the socks of all thy kindred,
All the stockings of thy sisters.
Joy your father now shall see,
Joy your mother now shall see,
Joy your brothers now shall have,
Golden joy your golden sisters."

The *opus magnum*, however, which Neuss dignifies by the name of Epic, is the following. Its repetitions are Homeric; but there is a reason for them. The song was danced to, and the figures recurred.

Then the war began to lower;
Russian soldiers rushed upon us,
Polish soldiers came and robbed us,
Saxon soldiers came and shot us.

Young and tender, I kept crying,
Kneeling mid the garden flowers.
Keep me, keep me, Lord of Harland.
Bring out your deep boats,
Till I get back to the house,
Till I find some merchant,
Till I find some one to save me,
Who will save me in the war.
At the front-door, at the back-door,
In the war, and in the slaughter,
In the war, and in the clutchings,
From the Cûrlanders,
From the Russians,
From the murderous knives
From the foemen's sword.

Then I went to beg my mother.
"Oh! my dear mother,
Save me from the war."
"How can I save you?"
"You have got three aprons,
One worked with gold,
One worked with silver
One with old brass.
Give the best for me,
Give the best for your only daughter."
Then straightway the mother answered,
"I'll not give them for my daughter,
Not my aprons for my daughter;
Daughters there are here and there,
Here to-day, and gone to-morrow.
Aprons last your lifetime."

Then the war began to lower,
Russian soldiers rushed upon us,
Polish soldiers came and robbed us,
Saxon soldiers came and shot us.
Young and tender, I kept crying,
Kneeling mid the garden flowers.
Keep me, keep me, Lord of Harland.
Bring out your deep boats,
Till I get back to the house, &c.
Then I went to beg my father.
"Oh! my dear Father,
Save me from the war.
From the front-door," &c.
"How can I save you?"
"You have got three bullocks,
One has a horn of gold,
The other a horn of silver,
The other a horn of old brass.
Give the best for me.

Give the best for your only daughter."
Then straightway the father answered,
"I'll not give them for my daughter,
Not my bullocks for my daughter;
Daughters there are here and there,
Here to-day, and gone to-morrow.
Bullocks last your lifetime."

Then the war began to lower, &c.
Then I went to beg my brother.
"Oh! my dear brother,
Save me from the war," &c.
"How can I save you?"
"You have got three horses.
One, a horse with mane of gold;
One, a horse with mane of silver;
And the third, a mane of old brass;
Give the best for me,
Give it for your only sister."
Then straightway the brother answered,
"I'll not give it for my sister,
Not my horses, for my sister;
Sisters there are here and there,
Here to-day, and gone to-morrow;
Horses last a lifetime."

Then the war began to lower, &c.
Then I went to beg my sister.
"Oh! my sister, little sister,
Save me from the war, my sister!" &c.
"How can I save you?"
"Ah! my little sister,
You have three garlands;
One is like a garland of gold;
Another like a garland of silver,
The third is of old brass.
Give the best for me, my sister,
Give it for your only sister."
Then the sister answered straightway,
"I'll not give them for my sister,
Not my garlands for my sister;
Sisters there are here and there,
Sisters you can have for one moon;
Sisters you can have for two moons;
Garlands last your whole life long."

Then the war began to lower. &c.
"Lads of Vierland,
Noble fellows,
Save the maiden
From the soldiers," &c.
'How can we save you?"
"You have got three hats,

One is a hat of old brass;
One is a hat of new silver;
And the third, a hat of gold.
Give the best for me,
Give it for your only maiden."
"How long will a hat last?
Hats last only two days;
Maidens last a whole life long."

## Sword-dance.

There was a maid, a young maid,
She took the herds to the homestead;
Found a chicken in the field,
Took the chicken home;
Out of the chicken came a man.
The maid was Salmi, Salmi the fair.

There came three wooers—
One, the Moon's son,
One, the Sun's son,
The third, the Star's son.
The handsome Moon's son came,
He came with fifty horses;
He came with sixty bold led-horses.
Then spoke Salmi from the corn-loft:
Crying out, from out the barn—
"No, no; not the Moon for me;
He has three duties:
First, he rises in the twilight,
Then he rises at the sunset,
Then he rises at the sinking."

The handsome Sun's son came,
He came with fifty horses;
He came with sixty bold led-horses.
Then spoke Salmi:
"No, no; not the Sun for me
The Sun has many duties:
The Sun sends hot beams,
Makes the fine weather,
Makes the harvest for the mowing,
Makes the rain come down in showers;
Sets the crops of oats a-growing,
Makes it sultry, makes it thunder;
Burning up the oats a-growing,
Kills the barley in the valleys;
In the sand beats down the linseed,
And the peas in all the furrows;
And the wheat behind the farm-yard,
And the flax along the forest."

The handsome Star's son came,
He came with fifty horses;
He came with sixty bold led-horses.
Then Salmi spake from out the corn-loft;
Took the Star's horse to the stable,
The roan to the stable,
Gave him his fill of oats,
Dressed him in fine linen,
Put a housing over him,
Let him close his eyes in silk,
Up to his hoofs in oats.
"Sit down, Star,
At the table
By the white-wall
On a bench of hornbeam
To the seasoned dishes,
Seasoned with pepper."
Then she took the Star to the chamber,
"Eat, Star; drink, Star,
Live in pleasure."
But the Star drew his sword.
No eating, no drinking,
Send Salmi into the chamber.
Salmi spoke from out the corn-loft,
In the house behind the homestead:
"Dearest mate, and dearest bridegroom,
Give me time to grow:
Give me time to array myself.
Slowly does the fatherless one array herself;
Slowly does the motherless one array herself;
Slowly does the orphan array herself.
No mother to dress me,
No parents to clothe me;
The mothers of the village must dress me,
The old women must clothe me.
The village gives cold comfort,
The people of an iron heart."

Of the war songs the number as well as the merit is higher than it is in Lithuania.

Could I but die in the war,
Die in the war without sickness;
Go off with the shot of the enemy,
Without the weary pain,
Without the weakness of death,
Without the waste of sickness.
Better to fall asleep in the battle,
To fall before the banners,
To sell your life to the sword,
To the arrow from the cross-bow.

No fight with sickness,
No slavery to sorrow,
Sleepless on the bed of pain.
Death in war has higher joy,
With the wounds of your brothers,
When the sister's eye weeps.
Ah! my brother in the pride of life
Has fallen in open war.

Neuss calls the following a drinking-song. The bacchanalian element, however, holds but a subordinate position.

I drank ale and emptied the can,
Threw the staves in the wood,
Threw the hoops in the thicket,
Dashed them on the ground,
In the morning went to look for them,
The day after looked about.
A fine ash-tree had grown up,
A fine ash-tree, a broad wood.
A muskin on each twig,
A squirrel on each branch,
A singing-bird on each roost.

Wait, wait, wait, squirrel,
Stay still little bird,
Till I get my gun,
Till I clean its barrel.

From every twig I shot a muskin,
From every branch I shot a squirrel,
From every roost I shot a singing-bird.

As a specimen of the language and metre we give the first of the foregoing in the mother-tongue.

Tela laulid tüttarlapsed,
Tela laulid, mala laulid,
Külla alla laulid neiud.

Ma laulin kirriko teela,
Kirrikusfa, karjamala.

Källikfed minnogi tappid
Surella munna-kiwwila,
Tarrawalla kirweella.

Kus nad wifid neiõ nore?

Wifid kulla marja foosfe.
Mis feälta minnusta kaswis?
Minnuft kaswis kallis kaske,
Ullenes metfa illufa.

Mis feält kasfeft tehtanekfe?
Kasfeft kannelt raiutakfe,
Wiolida westetasfe.

Kuft faid lauad kandelale?
Lohbe fure louasta,
Hauwi pitka hambaasta.

Kuft faid keled kandelile?
Juukfeft fai neio nore,
Karwaft fai koddokannafe.

Ei olnud pilli pekfiaida,
Kandeli ellistajaida.
Minno ella wennakenne,
Wi kannel kamberie,
Sea fängi förwa peäle,
Pekfa isfe peigelalla,
Oska förme otfadelle,
Rapfi rauda kämbellila!

Nendä hüdis wenna pilli,
Halledaste aine kannel,
Kui need nuttid, Wirro piad,
Halledaste Harjo neiud,
Minnesfa isfa koddunta,
Minnesfa emma koddunta,
Mehhe koio minnesfana,
Kafa koio käiesfana.

The extent to which the Estonians and Letts have acted upon one another is uncertain. A great deal that is common to the two, is due to the common influences to which they are exposed. I consider, however, that there is more Estonian blood among the Letts than there is of Lett blood among the Estonians. This is because the Letts and Lithuanians seem to have moved eastward, encroaching upon the Estonians and their congeners. How far westward the Ugrian area originally extended is uncertain. I think that it may safely be carried to the Vistula; perhaps to the Oder—not impossibly to the Elbe.

## CHAPTER XIII.

The Liefs of Estonia—of Cúrland.

It is only by courtesy that the Liefs find a place in a work on Nationalities; so microscopically small is the portion of the earth's surface which they cover, and so numerically small is the amount of the Lief population; for of all those divisions or subdivisions of mankind in which the ethnologist delights, and for which no one else cares, the Lief is the smallest that Europe can supply. There is as small a one in Asia, and there may be smaller ones in America, but in Europe there is nothing so fragmentary.

Many writers would merge the Liefs, at once, into the Estonians; and the Estonians are, certainly, their nearest congeners: but between the Lief and the Estonian Proper there is a difference in name and language. About the difference in name there is no doubt. Have we not said that, word for word, Lief is the root of Livonia or Liefland? and do we not know that Liefland, or Livonia, is a large, though thinly-peopled, country? Yet the name comes from the fragmentary Liefs. It has also been stated that, name for name, *Lief* is *Lemovii*, and that the Lemovii are mentioned by Tacitus.

Even then, if there were no other ethnological characteristics, the name, alone, is one. But there is the language as well. We know so little of anything beyond the two main dialects of the Estonian—that of the parts about Dorpat, and that of the parts about Reval—that, in separating the Lief Proper from the ordinary Estonian of Livonia, where (as has been stated) it is spoken concurrently with the Lett, we may be wrong in treating it as a separate substantive language. Good authorities, however, make it such.

In the ethnological map of Russia ('52) and in its statistical commentary, (a commentary which is founded upon the tables of Köppen, and which represents a census for 1846,) the number of the Liefs of *Livonia* is twenty-two. The present number is twelve; their occupancy being a small district near the mouth of the river Salis.

But, besides these, along the skirt of that peninsular tract of land, which lies within sight of the Isle of Ösel, are to be found about two thousand individuals, who are certainly neither Letts nor Estonians; who are also more Lief in language than aught else. Yet *Cûr*-land, rather than *Lief*-land is their locality. They may be a remnant of the true Livonians who, at one time, extended thus far westward—carrying, so to say, Livonia into Cúrland. At the same time, as has been suggested by the best authority on these points out of Russia, H.I.H. the Prince L. L. Bonaparte, they may be simply settlers from Ösel.

It is, certainly, from that island that another division of the population of these parts is derived; a division known as the *Krivonian, Krivingian,* or *Krivono-Livonic.* According to Köppen's authorities, these Krivonians are the descendants of a colony from Ösel who were settled on the Memelhof estate of the Herr von Hahn at the beginning of the last century. Here, and in New Raden, in Krussen, and in Witwenhof, they amounted, in A.D. 1839, to no more than fifteen souls.

Another small class is formed by the *Poluvyertsi.* This means *Half-believer;* and on the eastern frontier of Livonia a variety of the ordinary Estonian bears this name: though the denomination is not sufficiently definite to take its place in the ordinary statistical tables. During the wars between Charles XII. and Peter the Great, several Estonians were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Russia, where they married, and became converts to the Greek Church.

To return, however, to the real or supposed Liefs. It is the Letts who apply the name; a name which is not used by the Fins themselves except when they speak Lettish; and this they do no more than they can help. Traditions as to their origin have been carefully sought for; the result being that none were to be found, and that the absence of them was in favour of the population being aboriginal.

They call themselves *Sea-shore-men;* and it is sometimes by its Lett equivalent, and sometimes by a term meaning *Fishermen*, that they are, *generally*, spoken-of by the Letts. Between the two, however, the commerce is of the scantiest: intermarriages being rare; and their respective pursuits and aptitudes different. In the way of physical conformation, bodily stamina and energy of temperament, the balance is in favour of the fishermen. On the other hand, however, they are hard drinkers, and unscrupulous wreckers.

Small as is the number of these fragmentary Liefs, their language falls into two decided dialects, that of Pisen, and that of Kolken—not to mention the Lief of Liefland, in the strict and proper meaning of the term, with its twelve proprietors.

It is from the Kolken dialect that the following samples of the Lief poetry are taken:—

(1.)

My father made me a new ship,
My mother wove the sails.
I can sail with it against the North-wind;
The North has white snow;
I have white sails.
Run, ship! haste, ship!
In our sea there are no stumps.
May stumps grow in Lettland,
And break the ploughs!

(2.)

Sing, father, sing, son,
Sing, two lads.
The father, with the son,
Sings more than the two lads.

(3.)

Little doggie, shaggy doggie,
Took my goat to the lake;
Brought my little brother a harp-string,
Brought my little sister a head-band.

(4.)

"Whither goest thou, Miss Mary,
With the golden besom under the arm?"
"It is no golden besom:
It is the lowest branch of the birch."

(5.)

A hogshead in the cellar,
Two jugs on the table.
Turn about, move about
To the end of the table.

(6.)

Big mice, small mice:
Bring the children sleep:
Then when they are grown up,
The children will thank you.

(7.)

Hans went out to mow the grass;
He did not mow a picking for a chicken,
Or a mouthful for a goat.

(8.)

A father had nine sons:
They had three businesses.
Three beat the drum,
Three played the flute,
Three dragged the net on the beach.

(9.)

"Run—run, little girl!
Run, crying!
Have I not said to thee,
'Why goest thou so vain?'
Each day a white skirt,
A silken skirt,
Coloured stockings, with shoes on your feet.
A fine young man from a foreign country,
Of good family.
Three fair maidens
Have longed for him."
"Where will you lay me?
Such a drinker:
Every day in the alehouse!"
"I follow my mind;
Where my mates chatter,
Kanniken clink,
There is my heart,
Washed with beer."

(10.)

1.

Dead on Good-Friday, when I was born;
Who does away with my sin, as I was baptized.
Grace, as John says, we have gotten,
And I have it received for myself.

2.

The dying-day is dear to me,
Sorrow and joy could not conquer me.
But the Heavenly Father's Holy Spirit
Be to me the greatest wealth and fortune.

3.
Through sorrows of all sorts following thy tracks,
May I enjoy what is no enjoyment;
Here or on earth, where much is sad,
Will'st thou joy—then there is grief.

4.
The heavenly treasure which Thou hast given
I cannot take here on earth;
Grant that by thy strength, I may do thy will,
So that I may obtain heavenly life.

5.
Help, heavenly Father, me to do thy will!
Thou hast shaped me, therefore help me!
Let me shine as a bright light
(And not under the bushel) on the table.

If the doctrine suggested in a previous chapter, viz., that the *Rugii* of the Germania were the coastmen of the Gulf of *Riga*, and if the identification of the *Liefs* with the *Lemovii* be real, we have two names for the parts and populations under notice as old as the second century of our era. To these, I consider that a third may be added, viz., that of the *Hirri;* which, word for word, seems to be *Harrien*, the name of one of the divisions of Estonia.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### The Swedes of Livonia and Estonia.

THE political influence of Sweden in Livonia and Estonia is one thing: the bodily existence of a Swedish population is another. Such, however, is to be found. Nor are the settlements in which we find it of recent origin. Henry, the Lett, speaks of the Swædes of Reval; whilst the Swedes of Hapsal are mentioned in the laws of that town, as early as A.D. 1294. At the present moment local names like Stoorby, Söderby, Lyckholm, Klutorp, and the like (names which are as truly Swedish as the names in Sweden itself), are to be found in the parts between Reval and Memel—a few on the continent, but more on the islands. In Mannö, Kynö, parts of Ösel, Moon, Dagö, and some of the patches on the mainland, either the Swedish occupants have been actually replaced by Estonians, or they have lost those characters by which they are to be recognized as Swedes. In Nargö, one-half of Worms, half Nuckö, and a few spots on the continent opposite, there are Swedes and Estonians mixed. In Rogö, Odinsholm, the other halves of Nuckö and of Worms, in parts of Dagö, Runö, and a small district near Roslep, the population is not only Swedish in blood, but Swedish in appearance, and language also—Swedish in temperament, and (if the word may be applied to so small a body) Swedish even in respect to their nationality.* In one respect they stand apart from the proper Estonian. They are no serfs; but freemen—privileged freemen; and they proudly call themselves, as they are called by others, the *Free Swedish Yeomen*, or *De Fria Svenska Böndor*.

* See Sohlman (the authority for the whole of this notice) on the Remains of Swedish Nationality in Estonia and Livonia.—*Om Lemningar af Svensk Nationalitet uti Estland och Liffland.*

A detachment of them has been transplanted to the parts near Berislav in the Government of Kherson; their localities being Schlangendorf, Milhausendorf, Gamle Svenskby (= Old Swedish town), and Klosterdorf. Even here, they preserve their language, and speak Swedish among themselves.

The following is the Swedish population of Russia according to Köppen's tables for A.D. 1846.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | St. Petersburg . | 6156 |
| ——— | Estonia . . . | 4714 |
| ——— | Livonia . . . | 425 |
| ——— | Kurland . . . | 7 |
| ——— | Kherson . . . | 168 |
| | | 11,470 |

Of the Swedes of Finland this table takes no cognizance. Those of St. Petersburg are, probably, their immediate congeners. Those of Estonia, Livonia, and Cúrland are, apparently, our islanders; and those of Kherson the colonists derived from them.

That these may possibly represent the supposed companions of Ruric, who, with his bold Varangians, in the ninth century, is said to have crossed the Baltic, and cut his way, through the hostile bands of Vends, Letts, Lievs, and Kurlanders, who then occupied the whole coast between the Vistula and the Neva, to the present site of Novogorod; in which he laid, with Swedish hands, the great base of the present Moscovite empire; in other words, that these *Fria Svenska Böndor* are the descendants of the true Russians, has, of course, been surmised. All, however, that we know of them is that they can be traced up to the thirteenth century, and that, for want of *data*, they can be traced no higher.

## CHAPTER XV.

### The Vod—their Poetry.

THE ground on which the great city of St. Petersburg stands belonged, at the accession of Peter the Great, to Sweden. But the Swedish dominion itself was foreign, and such Swedish elements as Ingria, or the present Government of St. Petersburg, contained were intrusive—so truly was it a continuation of Finland in the direction of Estonia, or of Estonia in that of Finland.

All was Ugrian—continuous at first, interrupted afterwards. Have these interruptions entirely obliterated the aborigines? No. Akin to the Rahwas but different from them—akin to the Finlanders but different also from *them*, are the men of what the Swedes and Germans call *Wat*land, or the Land of the *Vod;* the Vod who are the true representatives of the aborigines of the Government of St. Petersburg; the Vod who serve as samples for what the Ugrians were when all between Narva and Viborg was Ugrian. There are other Ugrians besides; some from the northern frontier of Estonia, some from the southern parts of Finland—but the true aborigines are these Vod; transitional in language, and possibly in many other less definite characteristics, to the Estonians Proper and the Finlanders of Finland.

These Vätlanders, or Watlanders, call themselves Vadd jalaiset, the latter part of the word being inflectional; for the Gentile form in the singular number is *-lainen*, in the plural *-laiset*. In number the Vod amount to something more than five thousand. They occupy certain small villages between Narva and Cronstadt in the Circles of Oranienbaum and Yamsburg. We may think of them, if we choose, as the Ugrians of Yamsburg; inasmuch as they are, doubtless, belonging to the great Yam division of the Ugrian population, a division which contained the

aborigines not only of St. Petersburg but of Novogorod as well—of St. Petersburg and Novogorod as well as much besides. These it was with whom the Slavonians from the south came in contact, upon whom they encroached, and by whom they were resisted. By the end, however, of the thirteenth century the Vod, at least, were quieted. The fort Koporie was, then, built to overawe them. Add to this the influences of Christianity; which the Russians introduced. In *Estonia* it was the Germans who did so; so that, in *Estonia*, the creed, now Lutheran, was, originally, Roman Catholic. In *Vodland*, however, it both was and is the Christianity of the Greek Church.

Their language is called *Vais*. "*Tunnet pajattaa Vaiss*" = "*Do you speak Vod?*" It is in the parishes of Kattila and Soikina that it is spoken; and it was from an old woman of Kattila that Lönrot first, and Ahlqvist afterwards, made a collection of Vod songs; an old woman who has since died (*i. e.* in 1856).

In the eleventh century one of the divisions of the ancient Novogorod was called *Votskaia Patina* (*i. e.* the *Vod Fifth*), just as, in the eyes of the old Norsemen, Northumberland was a fifth part of England, or, as in Yorkshire, we talk of the *Trithings* (Ridings). The Swedes took up this name (Russian as it was), and in a document of King John III. (A.D. 1590) we find that he makes his son "Prince of Finland, Carelia, *Wätzkij-Pethin*, and Ingermanland," in Russia.

Upon the popular poetry of the Vod a flood of light has been recently thrown by Ahlqvist; previous to whose inquiries, two short fragments were the only known representatives of what is, apparently, a rich literature in its way. The great storehouse, as is so often the case, and as we have just stated, was the memory of an old woman; the most important poem which it supplied being a long wedding-song. More than a mere ode, it seems to be adapted to the details of the chief preliminary ceremonies; and it was, to some extent, an acted chorus—a true *prothalamium*. Too long to be given in full, it is sufficiently remarkable in form to claim notice. Hence, the following extracts are simply intended as a sketch of its general structure. The imagery is that of the Estonian compositions in general, and the metre is Estonian as well.

The opening :—

Bathe—bathe, my brother !
Bathe—bathe, my spark !
Bathe in ten parts water—
Wash in eight parts !
Before the door stands father,
Island-boots in hand,
Fish-caps under arm.
Before the door stands mother,
Checked shirt in hand,
Fish-caps under arm—

And so on, through the brothers and sisters, &c., until the bride groom leaves the bath-room. Then—

Hail ! in the wind of Yumala !
Hail ! out of the bath !
Hail ! fish after the cleaning !
Take now Yumala for thy help,
Take the dear Creator,
The mother of God before her.

On entering the room :—

Come, Yumala, and help—
Come, Yumala, and help the boy !
Help him, kind father,
In treading across the threshold,
Villagers, Christians,
Step on each side ;
Make way for my grouse,
Make way for my blackberry.
Father at the top of the table, &c.

* * * * *

Sorrow not, my dear brother,
Fear not, my spur-wearer.
Never is your coat other than comely,
Never are the island-boots shabby,
Never is your belt bad,
Never your hat awry.
Honey-drops spirt out
From the golden girdle,
From the chalk-white helm.
Sorrow not, my dear brother ;
Fear not, my spur-wearer.
Go not alone, my brother ;
Go not by yourself, my fish :
With thee goes a line of bridesfolk,
A band of mates.
With the Moon as bridegroom's father,
At the head of the troop the Sun ;
Thou, as the Sun's son, at the side,
With the bride's train as stars ;

The sister brings words in her glove—
Songs in the pocket of her gown.
Sorrow not, my dear brother;
Fear not, my spur-wearer;
Thou art new stricken, my leaf!
Not cast away, my berry!

The bridegroom takes his seat under a figure of St. George.

Great kinsmen of my bird,
Noble men of a high house,
Help the well-beloved:
Part with words, and part with clothing.
Help him with copper,
Help him with gold.
In married life gold goes,
Gold coins melt away.
Sorrow not, my dearest brother,
Work shall be done in the house.
Your father is still alive:
My mother is still alive.
At the table sits the father,
At the cupboard the mother.
The father helps his kin;
The mother sets the table.

The bridegroom now goes to fetch the bride.

Help now, Yumala!
Come, Creator,
With the Mother of God!
Come, Creator, on the Cross!
Saviour on the . . . .
Mark a cross, my dearest!
Knock at door, my little bear!
Knock at door carefully,
Stoop your face, my golden one!
On each side, my little fish!
The tree thou nearest,
Red shall it be;
The hedge thou nearest,
Green shall it be, &c.
Villagers, children of Christ, &c.

On entering the house of the bride:—

Come into the room, brother!
Warm, my heart!
My brother comes to one whom he knows.
Come to the ownership of the house:
Father at the end of the table;
Make room for the apple of my eye,
A place for my own and only one, &c.

Then, to the bridegroom :—

Hast key in girdle?
Hast secret skill behind?
Canst open the Butterburg—
The white Church of the Vod?

And now, they ask for meat and drink.

My brothers-in-law, lads of gold,
My true kinsmen,
Let not the cates spoil,
Let not the meats cool;
I shall not spare the cates,
Nor yet hoard the drink.
My brothers-in-law, lads of gold,
The beer warms you,
The brandy lights you up:
Vierland's brandy, good for drinking,
Honey-beer from our own land.
I tarry not at the brandy:
The beer does not warm me.
Work must be done in the house:
The mother is still alive, &c.

The bridegroom sits down at the table.

Sit thee down, my loved one;
Sit thee down, my only brother,
At the foot of Yumala,
Under the holy kerchief,
Before the face of the Kind One!

Grace after meat :—

Thanks and blessings
For the meat and drink:
I've been at many weddings—
At eight in all:
Never ate I such cates,
Never drank I such liquors, &c.

To the bridegroom :—

Hast key in girdle?
Hast skill in pocket?
Canst open the Butterburg—
The white Church of the Vod?

To the host :—

Dear brother-in-law, my golden one,
It is not my brother
That thou deceivest,

It is thy own brother—
Thy own sister.
Take a message to the maiden,
Let goosey know,
That the maiden weep not more.
Weeping wears the heart,
Tears hurt the eyes.

As the guests depart :—

Time to go—time to go,
The horses are neighing,
The nags are whinnying, &c.

The bride reaches the bridegroom's house :—

Brotherkin went out alone :
Back he comes with some one else,
Bringing the mother a helpmate, &c.

Greeting of the bride :—

Hail, young, dear maiden !
Hail, coming from the way !
Let me see my maiden !
Let me see her by the fire—
Let me see her by the light !
Black was she painted, my chicken,
Smoke-black was she painted.
Black are they who said it—
Smoke-black the sayers.
She was good, and she *is* good;
Fair in her open sleeves,
Clean in her silken shirt,
Beautiful in her kirtle.
Dear maid—dear maiden,
As thou comest, so stay, &c.

The bride is taken to a well to look at the water :—

Go to the well, my maiden,
To look at the water;
How it springs up
From the pebbly bottom,
From the sandy spring.

The presents being inspected and divided, the poem concludes with—

Dearest maiden—only maiden,
As thou comest, so stay.
Try to be careful,
Try to be right clean.

From the smaller poems, I subjoin—

(1.)

*The Bad Wife.*

Lark, little lark—
Whither goest thou, little lark?
Gloves on your hands,
Flowers in the gloves:
Whither goest thou, little lark?
To build a storehouse,
To build a bath-room.
You is the bath-room for?
For a maiden with rich locks.
Why a maiden with rich locks?
To pull off my stockings,
To undo my shoes.
I had a wife without a head:
She threw away my shoes,
She buried the linen in the snow,
She set the bath-room in a blaze,
She burnt half the linen—
Two pairs of stockings:
More's the pity!
She broke the cow's horn, feeding it;
She fed the sheep to death;
She fed the sow till it was blind;
She broke the shovel in two;
She spoilt the room, and broke the besom.

(2.)

There came an order for the war—
A letter from Germany—
That the sister should go out and fight,
And the brothers remain at home.
Such a thing was never heard of—
Never heard of—never seen,
For the sisters to go out to fight—
Brothers to stay at home!
Never before heard of—
Never heard—never seen!
Petticoats on saddles!
Curls on saddles!

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Izhor, Savakot, and Auramoiset.—The Tshúd.—The Vesp.—The Fins of the Government of Tver, &c.

*INGRIA*, or *Inger*manland, takes its name from the *Ingri*kot, or *Izhors*—the former being the native, the latter the Russian, name. At the present moment the Ingrikot amount to about seventeen thousand eight hundred, all within the Government of St. Petersburg. I believe that they, originally, formed a frontier between either the Estonians and the Finlanders or between the Russians and the Fins. This I believe on two grounds: (1.) because the district is actually a *boundary;* (2.) because the root of the name seems to be the same as the *-kr-* in Ukraine and other similar words, which are admitted to mean one, just as *March* does in German. At the same time, I think that they belonged to Finland rather than Estonia. This is because the Vod call them *Karelians*—thereby separating them from themselves.

In A.D. 1623, the district of Agrepää was ceded by the Russians to the Swedes, and along with it two others, namely Yeskis and Savolax. It is believed that when this took place the ancestors of the *Savakot* and *Auramoiset*, two other Fin populations of Ingria, migrated into their present localities. The former amount to 42,979, the latter to 29,344.

If we now ask what parts of the Government of St. Petersburg are the most Ugrian, we shall find them to be those districts which lie between the sea and Lake Ladoga; the parts nearest to the capital itself. On the other hand, the northern and southern portions are Russian; as is the southern part of the Lake Ladoga and the parts between Novogorod and the Peipus Lake. Mean-

while the interjacent country is Fin or Ugrian, the line of encroachment having been along the rivers Luga and Volkov.

Another variety of the Ugrian family, known by the name of *Tshúd*, now comes under notice. This is believed to have been the name by which the Slavonians designated certain nations which were other than Slavonic. Still, they do not seem to have called the Germans so; for them they call *Niemce*. Nor yet the Turks; who are *Tartars*. Where, then, the word *Tshúd* is used, it is used by a Slavonian, and is, probably, applied to an Ugrian. It is not known to the Ugrians themselves and is anything but a complimentary designation. It is much such a word as *Barbarus* in Greek and Latin, only not applied so generally.

I cannot, however, find that *all* the Ugrians were called *Tshúd*. The Estonians are not. The Finlanders are not. It seems, then, as if the name were given more especially by the Russians of Novogorod to the Ugrians of their immediate frontier; at any rate, the Ugrians under notice are pre-eminently Tshúd, and as Sjögren connects them with the Vod, he occasionally allows himself to speak of the one as the Northern, the other as the Southern, Tshúd.

But now another name occurs. Vladimir, son of Yaroslav, marched with a mighty army out of Novogorod, against a population called *Yem*, or *Yam*, and conquered it. He lost, however, his horses through a murrain. After this, the Yam appear frequently in Russian history, and that as a sturdy, brave people. Two elaborate papers of Sjögren address themselves to the question—Who were the *Yam?* The answer is, that they were the ancestors of the present Tshúd of Olonets and Novogorod. A.D. 1042.

The Tshúd have suffered much from encroachment; more than the Ugrians of St. Petersburg. Sometimes they lie in patches, oases, or islands. Sometimes they have other Ugrians in contact with them. They lie—some on the banks of Lake Onega, others in the Circle of Bielosersk. They lie in Novogorod, as well as in Olonets. When Sjögren described them, he carried their numbers as high as twenty-one thousand. An earlier table gives for—

| | |
|---|---|
| The Government of Novogorod . . . | 7,067 |
| ——————— Olonets . . . . | 8,560 |
| | 15,627 |

They call their language *Luudin kieli = Luudin tongue*, or *speech*.

Of the Karelians more than a hundred thousand are believed to lie apart from their congeners in the Grand Duchy of Finland, Archangel, and Olonets; *i. e.*—

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Government of Novogorod. . . | 27,076 |
| ——————— St. Petersburg . . | 3,660 |
| ——————— Tver . . . . | 84,638 |
| ——————— Yaroslav . . . | 1,283 |
| | 116,657 |

Of these I can merely say that, in the way of language, the following is the Parable of the Sower in the dialect of Tver, which may be compared with the true Fin of Finland.

*Tver.*

Ka laksi kulvaa kulvamax; I kulvïässa muvvénnet uvat langettyx tiědavas: i tuldyx linnut; i gïat nökittyx. Muvvénét langettyx kivi-ruŏpahilla, kumbaziěnpïälla vaga oli muăda: i tervax guö novstyx, zen-tax, evldu muassa suvax. Païvazén novstuŏ guö kellissuttix, i kuïn evldu uurdunuŏt kuïvéttyx. Muvvénnét langettyx tug'üx i kazvo tug'ü i gïat katto. A muvvénnét langettyx huvalla muălla, i kazvettyx lizävon-kera, kumbane toï suăn kumbane kuŭzikummenda, kumbane kolmekŭmmenda. Kella ollax korvat kuŭlla kuŭlgăx.

*Fin.*

Katso kylwäjä mene kylwämään. Ja hänen kylwäissänsä, lankesiwat muutamat tien oheen, ja linnut tuliwat ja söiwät ne. Muutamat taas lankesiwat kiwistöhön, kussa ei heillä ollut paljo maata, ja nousiwat peari päälle, ettei heillä ollut sywää maata. Mutta koska aurinko nousi, niin he poudittin; ja ettei heillä ollut juurta, nün he kuiwettuïwat. Mutta muutumat lankesiwat orjantappuroihin, ja orjantappurat käwiwät ylös, ja tukahuttiwat ne. Muutamat taas lankesiwat hywään maahan, ja tekiwät hedelmän, mutuama satakertaisen, muutama kuudenkymmenen kertaisen, ja muutama kolmenkymmenen kertaisen. Jollo on korwat kuulla, se kuulkaan.

Of the Vesp dialect, *eo nomine*, I have seen no specimens.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Finland.—Its early Connection with Sweden.—Its Conquest by Russia A.D. 1809.

If we speak of Finland in the widest sense of the word and interpret it to mean the *Land of the Fins*, the question of its nationality must be spread over our notices of three countries—Russia, Sweden, and Norway; since the Fins in both the second and third of these are neither few nor unimportant. Such a division will actually take place. Though the mass of what has to be written about Finland find its place here, something concerning it stands over until we come to Scandinavia.

Even in Finland, in the more limited sense of the term, there is a division. The political history of that part of the country which was annexed to Russia by the campaign of 1809 is, by no means, the political history of all the Russian Fins. Some of them were Russian at an early period, and some have been Russian since the time of Peter the Great. The Karelians of the Government of Archangel are in the former, the Finlanders of Viborg in the latter, category. Nor is this without its significance; inasmuch as, whilst Finland, on the whole, is, like Sweden, a pre-eminently Lutheran country, the parts of it which give the older Russian occupancies are, to some extent, under the Greek church. This is the case, to a slight degree, in Viborg; in a greater degree in Karelia.

It is convenient to call all the Fins of the Government of Archangel Karelians. *Some* of those of the Duchy are the same. The Finland, however, of the Government of Archangel is Karelia. It should be added that the northern part of the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia gives us a third name—*Quain*, or (as it is sometimes spelt) *Kwæn*. This is what the Fins of Sweden are called, and the Norwegians, who reserve the name *Fin* for the Laplanders, have adopted it.

The Sitones of Tacitus were the *Quains;* as is shown by the history of a curious blunder arising out of the antiquity of the latter name. *Qvinna,* in Swedish, means a *woman;* so that *a kingdom of Qvains* may be mistaken for a *kingdom of queans.* Some one between the first observer and the direct or indirect informant of Tacitus fell into this mistake; the result being that the text of the Germania tells us that the Sitones are ruled by a woman and that they are to be despised accordingly. The blunder continues. Alfred writes about *Cwænland;* and Adam of Bremen of a *Terra Amazonum.* Who first, cunningly, hit upon this element of error, I am unable to say. I can only say that it has been recognized as a likely one; and that few doubt the identity between the Quains and the Sitones.

The name *Fin,* like the names *Kwæn* and *Sitones,* suggests criticism. The Laps like being called Fins better than the Fins like being called Laps; this being the case with the common people. Neither are all the learned Fins wholly free from a prejudice against this Lap connection. At the present time, however, it is too late to deny the manifest affinity between the languages; though this has, occasionally, been done: just as patriotic Hungarians have denied the Fin character of the Magyar. But (we repeat it) it is too late for paradoxes of this kind; and the affinities, on both sides, may be considered as incontestably established, and, with a few unimportant exceptions, generally admitted. How far the blood and language coincide is another question.

The Fenni, as described by Tacitus, are amongst the rudest and filthiest of nations—without arms, without horses, without household gods—*non arma, non equi, non Penates.* They feed on herbs; they wear skins; they lie on the ground. Their arrows are tipped with bone; and the women join in the chase with the men. They live in wattled huts; but, withal, live happily—"*securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt ut illis non voto quidem opus esset.*" That this applies to the *Laps* has been maintained by the learned; and the fact of *Finmark* being the Norwegian name for *Lapland* is in favour of the view. In my own mind the word came to Tacitus from a German source, and I think that the Germans

who used it may have used it with much the same latitude as they do now. Applied to a population which was neither Sarmatian nor German, it would give us, at least, two divisions of the class denoted by it. With one the Germans would come in contact on the south shore of the Baltic in the parts about the Dwina and the Gulf of Finland; the other they would find in the northern and middle districts of Scandinavia. Both might be called Fins; yet the former would be the ancestors of the Estonians, the latter the ancestors of the Laps. The Fins of Lapland, however, would present the strongest contrast to the Germans; and, as such, be the most prominent in description. They would also serve best to point a paragraph for a writer like Tacitus; a writer in whom we must never overlook the great extent to which his rhetoric encroaches on his history.

That the original Fin polity was of the simplest is an inference from such words as *kuningas, tuomari, valtakunta, esivalta, sakko, tori,* &c., which mean *king, judge, authority, power, fine, market,* &c., all of which are Swedish. So are the names of the commoner trades and employments: with the notable exceptions of *kanguri* and *seppa,* meaning *weaver* and *smith.* These are native; as are the *rauta=iron, tekase=steel, vaske=copper, hopia=silver, hölmä=bog-iron.* The word for a feast was *drinking.* A maiden given in marriage was *sold.* There was a name for freemen and for slaves: a name for a village, and a name for a large assembly of houses at which was held a kind of court—*kyla* and *kenaja* respectively.

If we put all this together we shall take the description of the Fenni, as found in Tacitus, with reservation: treating them as a rude population, but as a population of which the culture, though low, differed from that of the Germans and the Sarmatians in degree rather than kind. Between the time of Tacitus and the first Swedish invasions there is an interval of nearly a thousand years. How far it was stationary or progressive during this period is uncertain.

What in the way of useful arts and national polity the Fins had of their own, and what they adapted from the Swedes, has just been noticed. They certainly had *not* the art of writing. Their poems are called *runot:* a word to which the Fin lan-

guage adds a long list of derivatives, &c. In the opinion of some, this is enough to make it a true and indigenous Fin word. In the opinion of others, it is simply the Norse *rune*.

*Finland*, itself, is, of course, a Swedish word, and, as such, foreign to the Fins. It is, however, current among them; and, though it has not wholly superseded the native name *Suomelaiset*, it is in a fair way of doing so. It is certain that Fins may be found who do not know the meaning of this last denomination. It is much such a word as *Kymry* in Wales; national, very national, tolerably old, but not universally recognized.

For the scientific purposes of ethnology and philology, there is a fourth term to be noticed—*Tavastrian*. By this is meant the Fins of the south-west, or the Fins who belong to the drainages of those rivers which fall into the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. Meanwhile *Zavolok*, *Zavolockian*, *Savolaxian*, or *Savolocensian* is a rough equivalent for Karelian; the word being Russian, and meaning *Tramontane*, or, more literally, *beyond the watershed*. In all the later works upon Fin archæology this difference between the Tavastrians and Karelians is strongly and minutely insisted on. It is possible that, at times, it is overdone. This, however, is a point upon which a foreigner should speak with unfeigned diffidence. For Tavastrian, *Ham* and *Yem* are occasional synonyms, the former being, in its fuller form, *Hämälaiset*; the opposite to which is *Kainuluiset*.

On the Russian frontier there is an infusion of Russian blood, and in the maritime towns a still larger one of Swedish. In Norway there is a Norwegian, and in Lapland a Lap, intermixture. In the centre, however, of the Duchy the blood must be some of the purest in Europe. Not that even there, it is, to a certainty, absolutely pure. All that can be said is that it has received no foreign elements for more than a thousand years. At an early period, however, the Laps extended further south. Such, at least, is the opinion of the most accomplished native historians; and such seems to be the legitimate inference from more than one fact in language, in archæology, and in legend. Be this, however, as it may, the present Finlander, in his typical form, is the representative of a very pure stock.

Agriculture extended itself from South to North, from Tavastria,

which seems to have been the germ of the Fin cultivation, to Kwænland, to Karelia, and to Lapland; for in Lapland the Fins and Laps met, and as early as A.D. 1360, twenty Laplanders and Finlanders are specially mentioned as having been baptized by a Swedish bishop in a great vat at Tornea.

As far south as the parts about Orivesi, on the northern frontier of Tavastaland, the signs of an early Lap occupancy present themselves in the shape of what the Swedes call the Lap Rings (*Lappringarne*)—these being circles of stones—circles of stones which increase in number as we move northwards, and decrease as we go south. That the Laps and Fins were always in immediate geographical contact is shown by the name *Lap* itself; which is, with the highest probability, treated as a Fin word, meaning *end* or *boundary*. In the early accounts of the missionaries from Estonia a *provincia extrema Lappegunda* is mentioned; and in Finland itself such geographical names as the *Lap* Lake, the *Lap* mountains, the *Lap* Bay, the *Lap* Tower, the *Lap* Marsh, the *Lap* Cairn, the *Lap* Strand, and the *Lap* Dale are to be found. On the other hand, the Laps themselves believe that their ancestors lived in either Sweden, or Finland, or both. The Swedes and Laps (so runs the belief) were, originally, brothers: when a storm came on. The Swedes put-up a board and took shelter under it. The Laps took to a tent; and ever since, the latter have lived in tents, the former in houses.

It was about A.D. 1150, that the Swedish king Eric or *St.* Eric (for his virtue, his austerity, and his efforts to extend Christianity, have gained him that title) first introduced Swedish influence into Finland. He was half a conqueror, half a crusader. He coerced the pirates of Tavastria and Kwænland and he sent missionaries among their heathens. The first bishop of Upsala, St. Henry, was one of these, and he met his death at the hand of the pagan Tavastrians. In the next century Earl Birger followed the policy of St. Eric; and, as the mass of the Finlanders had relapsed into heathenism, enacted a crusade against them. Charged not only with a national apostacy but with having perpetrated horrible cruelties upon the Swedes who had settled in their country, they were coerced by the garrison of Tavastaborg. This was planted by Birger, as Nyland had been planted by Eric.

Whether the statement that, up to this time, the Southern Fins had been subject to Russia be true is uncertain. It is only certain that, after the foundation of Tavastaborg, the Swedes turned their arms against the Russians, who in the papal letters of the time are massed-up with the Fins as relapsed Christians, against whom a crusade was to be directed. The attack, however, of the Russians miscarried.

About 1300, another Birger, or rather the regent, Thorkel Knutson, completed the conversion of the Western Fins. The Karelians, however, remained pagan and formidable, and were coerced accordingly. It was against them that the fortress of Viborg was founded; a fortress which served as a basis of operations against Russia as well as against Karelia. Even now the names which appear so prominently in the later history of Estonia and Livonia present themselves with the same details. The Swedes take Kexholm from the Russians in one campaign, and the Russians take it from the Swedes in another. That some of the Fins of these parts owe their Christianity to Russia rather than Sweden is likely; and the Russians claim the credit of having converted them A.D. 1227. They may have done this, and, yet, have done it ineffectually; for the special charge that lay against the Fins was that there was nothing real in their numerous conversions. When an enemy threatened them, they embraced Christianity, and, when that enemy left them, they apostatized.

Under the Union, Finland was held as a feudal tenure, by either some member of the royal family, or some great officer of state—who, sometimes, affected a dangerous independence. It was always being attacked by Russia and not always effectively defended.

Under the descendants of Gustavus Vasa it was better held than administered: indeed, as long as Livonia and Estonia were Swedish, the material strength, as well as the strategic positions, was on the side of Sweden.

Except, then, on the frontier of Ingria, and in Eastern Karelia, the civilization and Christianity of Finland are from Sweden—from Sweden with its Roman alphabet, its Protestantism, and its literature. Nor, were the benefits one-sided. Hardy seamen and brave soldiers were always forthcoming from Finland, and the

famous buff regiment of the great Gustavus consisted of what he used to call his Lads of Savolax, true and genuine Fins.

We now approach our own times. By the treaty of Tilsit it was agreed that Russia should be left free to conquer Finland, and that Denmark should be compelled to make over her fleet to France, and join in the confederacy against England. The articles which contained these conditions were secret, or meant to be so. A copy, however, or a trustworthy notice of their contents, found its way to the British Government. The power as well as the inclination of Denmark to uphold her neutrality was more than doubtful; and with laudable decision it was determined to demand that her fleet should be put into the hands of England. Less than this it would have been foolish to have asked. The demand, however, was one no high-spirited nation could have complied with. The Danish nation refused; and one of the boldest and most justifiable acts of the British Government, the bombardment of Copenhagen, under Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier, was the result. No act, however, has been more vituperated. May the like of it never again be demanded; but may it, if demanded, be done with equal decision and promptitude!

It was to England that the Swedes looked for assistance: and, to some degree, that assistance was forthcoming. But the king, Gustavus Adolphus II., in every way unfit for the crisis, and a strange mixture of heroism and vacillation, made co-operation impossible. The expedition of Sir John Moore ended unsuccessfully. The ten thousand men, under his command, found that there were no adequate preparations for even the defence of Sweden; much less the invasion of Denmark, and the relief of Finland. Upon the former plan there could scarcely have been a second opinion: upon the latter there were fair grounds for a difference. That Sir John Moore's instructions were to help in the defence of Sweden, and not to seek an enemy off Swedish ground, is probable: whilst it is transparently clear that from offensive operations against Denmark, which no one, perhaps, but the king himself had contemplated, he did wisely in abstaining. Whether Finland should have been left to its fate is another question. The English troops were wanted elsewhere, and

the differences of opinion between Gustavus and Sir John Moore took an extreme form. The English general left in hasty and undignified manner; and the army was withdrawn for services in the Peninsula, which ended in the retreat from Corunna. Of the king's impracticability sufficient proof was given in the sequel. He brought his kingdom to the very verge of ruin and was forced to abdicate. The line of Vasa ended with his successor, and Bernadotte became King of Sweden under the name of Carl Johann.

Meanwhile the conquest of Finland was going on. That it was effected is not to be wondered at. The wonder is that it was effected in a single campaign. Charges were brought against the Russians for having tendered, and against the Swedish generals for having received, bribes: but charges of the kind were common on both sides of the Baltic. The special evidence that touches the question most nearly is the fact that, by the terms of the capitulation of Sweaborg, the Russians engaged to make good certain deficiencies in the military accounts. How far an arrangement of this extremely suspicious kind admits of a second interpretation is best known to military men. The imputation of having received bribes is indignantly repudiated by the Swedes, and that of having offered them by the Russians. *Valeant quantum.* The surrender of Sweaborg implies a deficiency of some kind. That, after the campaign, several Swedish officers entered into the service of Russia is another fact in the same direction—though one of less weight than the other. The officers were ordered to retire whenever the enemy was superior, and never to risk a doubtful battle. These were the orders of the king. They were not those that would have been issued by the great Gustavus, or by either of the Charleses. They were orders, however, that the circumstances appeared to have justified; and they were orders which were not always acted on.

The six strategic points in Finland are Sweaborg, Abo, and Vasa, on the sea; Tavastahus, Kuopio, and Uleaborg inland—the last in the extreme north, the former the most important. The campaign began in January, 1808, and ended in the same year.

On the entering of Finland, the commander, Count Bouxhoevden, issued the following proclamation; artfully worded, and (it is believed) not wholly uneffective.

It is with the utmost concern his Imperial Majesty, my most gracious master, finds himself necessitated to order his troops under my command to enter your country, good friends and inhabitants of Swedish Finland. His Imperial Majesty feels the more concerned to be obliged to take this step, to which he is compelled by the transactions which have taken place in Sweden, as he still bears in mind the generous and friendly sentiments which the Fins displayed towards Russia in the last war, when the Swedish king engaged in an invasion of Finland, in a manner equally unexpected and unwarrantable. His present Swedish Majesty, far from joining his Imperial Majesty in his exertions to restore the tranquillity of Europe, which alone can be effected by the coalition, which so fortunately has been formed by the most powerful States, has, on the contrary, formed a closer alliance with the enemy of tranquillity and peace, whose oppressive system and unwarrantable conduct towards his Imperial Majesty, and his nearest ally, his Imperial Majesty cannot by any means look upon with indifference. It is on this ground, in addition to what his Majesty owes to the security of his own dominions, that he finds himself necessitated to take your country under his own protection, in order to reserve to himself due satisfaction, in case his Swedish Majesty should persist in his design not to accept the just conditions of peace which have been tendered to him by his French Majesty, through the mediation of his Imperial Russian Majesty, in order to restore the blessings of peace, which are at all times the principal object of his Imperial Majesty's attention. Good friends, and men of Finland, remain in quiet and fear nought; we do not come to you as enemies, but as friends and protectors, to render you more prosperous and happy, and to avert from you the calamities which, if war should become indispensable, must necessarily befall you. Do not allow yourselves to be seduced to take to arms or to treat in a hostile manner the troops who are committed to my orders; should any one offend against this admonition, he must impute to himself the consequences of his conduct; while, on the other hand, those who meet his Imperial Majesty's paternal care for the welfare of this country, may rest assured of his powerful favour and protection. And as it is his Imperial Majesty's will, that all affairs should pursue their usual course, and be managed according to your ancient laws and customs, which are to remain undisturbed as long as his troops remain in your country, all officers, both civil and military, are herewith directed to conform themselves thereto, provided that no bad use be made of this indulgence contrary to the good of the country. Prompt payment shall be made for all provisions and refreshments required for the troops; and in order that you may be still more convinced of his Majesty's paternal solicitude for your welfare he has ordered several magazines to be formed, in addition to those which are already established, out of which the most indigent inhabitants shall be supplied with necessaries in common with his Majesty's troops. Should circumstances arise to require an amicable discussion and deliberation, in that case you are directed to send your deputies, chosen in the usual manner, to Abo, in order to deliberate upon the subject, and adopt such measures as the welfare of the country shall require. It is his Imperial Majesty's pleasure, that from this moment Finland shall be considered and treated in the same manner as other conquered provinces of the Russian

empire, which now enjoy happiness and peace under the mild government of his Imperial Majesty, and remain in full possession of the freedom of religion and worship, as well as of all its ancient rights and privileges. The taxes payable to the crown remain in substance unaltered, and the pay of the public officers of every description continues likewise on its ancient footing.

One division crossed the Kymene, and entered the province of Tavastahus; the other invaded the Savolax. Both moved northwards, with a *minimum* resistance. Sweaborg, which was treated as an island rather than as a fortification of the main land, was left in the rear as the Russian army under Bouxhoevden moved northwards. Abo was abandoned without a blow, and within the first month of the campaign both Southern and Central Finland had been reduced. The Aland Isles, which were afterwards recaptured, submitted on the first summons.

The first serious engagement cost about one thousand on both sides, when the Russians were driven from the ground; but, as they regained it after the retreat of the Swedes, they call the victory a doubtful one. A Swedish orator compared it to Mantineia and Marengo. In this, notwithstanding the standing orders to proceed with caution, the Swedes acted on the offensive; and the improvement in the spirit of the army that was developed by the movement justified their boldness.

The greatest battle was that of Orovais. The Swedish generals, Adlerkreutz and Vegesack, had the advantage of the Russian general in position, and considered that their victory was easy. They swept down from their advantageous occupancy of some heights that overlooked his army, and, in a few minutes, routed more than seven thousand of the Russian Light Infantry. The Russians fled before them, and there was a body of Swedes in reserve. The only hopes of Kamensky were in four battalions which were pushing on from Vasa. They arrived in time; and a few words of encouragement did the work. The Swedes were defeated, and Orovais was taken. The battle had lasted fourteen hours; and both the Swedes and Russians had shot away their last cartridge. Night and the exhaustion of the Russians favoured the retreat of the Swedes. This was the great battle of the Campaign; and, as a measure of its comparatively small dimensions, the loss on both sides was about two thousand men. The military historian whom I follow—a Russian—calls it a complete massacre: but massacres

of two thousand men which lead to the subjugation of a country as large as France are small things in the way of great victories.

After this Kuopio and Uleaborg were taken, and Marshal Klingsporr concluded an armistice, and left the army for the capital. He was an old man and an ailing one; and he hoped, by representations made in person, to persuade the king that the recovery of Finland was impossible. Part, too, of his army had been driven back beyond the Arctic Circle, and he hoped for leave to be allowed to let it fall back upon Sweden. His command devolved upon General Klercker, and his reception in Sweden was favourable. Still, the king was immovable. He only sent fresh troops into Finland without a corresponding commissariat and with the knowledge that the country could not keep them. There was a short armistice; and then the capture of a few subordinate, though, apparently, strong positions by the Russians. The Russian general waived some advantages which, if it had not been for the armistice, he might have taken. For all practical purposes, however, Finland was lost.

The year was closing, and Napoleon was at Erfurth. The war was determined by England still to continue. The King of Sweden thought only of his next campaign. His revenue was wholly inadequate, and the English subsidy covered but one-third of the outlay. The English soldiers were wanted for Spain, and the Ministry had no confidence in Gustavus. Sir J. Moore had been sent to defend Sweden, not to protect Finland; still less to attack Denmark. Gustavus had insisted on the recall of the English Minister, and yet was asking for a fresh subsidy. He was on the point of laying an embargo on the numerous vessels then in the Swedish ports, and it was only the strong reclamations of his subjects that stopped his mad design. No other ally but England then remained. Nor would he condescend to constitutional measures. Nothing would induce him to call a States' General. His will and the patriotism of the Swedes were to be enough. Of the feelings of the Finlanders I have not the knowledge which enables me to speak. It seems to have been put to as low an item on either side. There was an extraordinary contribution and a fresh levy: and spring was waited for. The Russians were now in the far north, and nothing was expected from them except through their fleet. But the month of January

was unusually cold, and the ice made it possible for the Russians to treat it as solid ground. Charles XII. had crossed the Belt, and the Russians determined on crossing the Gulf of Bothnia. An attack on the part of the Danes was also arranged: they also passing on the ice. But the ice of the Sound broke up. Knorring had orders to reconquer the Alands and he did it; *viâ* the ice. Barclay de Tolli, with about five thousand men, crossed from Vasa to Umea, where the Swedes had their depôts and reserves. The passage to the Alands was made in March. A long train of sledges with provisions, fuel, and brandy, started with the army. The islands between had been evacuated and devastated. The king, who had lived in Aland, and had believed that the Alanders, whom he had promised never to abandon, would stand by him as long as he stood by them, had directed that the island must be defended; and this order was one of the last of his reign. During the passage, which was effected with little difficulty, he was deposed: and his uncle, a man advanced in years, appointed Regent. The Russians then crossed from Aland to the continent.

Within a few days of the passage for Aland Barclay de Tolli crossed for Umea. On the fourth day he reached a lighthouse in the mid-channel. Ten days afterwards he attacked Umea. Meanwhile the Emperor Alexander was in Finland comporting himself with politic affability. The main points of the cession were settled. It was only on the Alands that there was a doubt. A little to prevent the settlement was done by the appearance of some Swedish and English vessels in the Gulf of Bothnia, and a little to promote it by the appearance of a Danish and Norwegian army on the frontier. The new king signalized the beginning of his reign by some notable activities: the fruit of which was an advantage gained over the Russians at Ratan. It failed, however, to lower the claims of the Czar. The Alands followed Finland, and Finland went to Alexander.

The campaign by which it was reduced was pre-eminently a bloodless one. Of the feeling manifested by the parties most concerned, the Finlanders themselves, I have no satisfactory evidence. The honesty of the Swedish commanders I am not prepared to defend. The surrender of Sweaborg was, to say the least, suspicious. The fact of all the extraordinary successes of

the Russians having been effected against stone walls rather than living bodies of men, drawn up in battle array, is also suspicious. Measured by their successes and sieges the career of the Russians is glorious. Measured by their successes in the open field it is scarcely creditable. Creditable, however, to the hardihood of both nations is their tolerance of the rigors of a hard winter in a climate like that of Finland; and the bold passage of the Gulf of Bothnia over the ice surpasses that of Charles XII. over the Belt.

In respect to the charge of bribery, the historian whom I follow, and who is a Russian, meets it on two grounds. The Swedes would scorn to be moved by an offer of money. This may or may not be the case. The Russians would scorn to offer it. *Credat Judæus.*

On the conduct of England the less said the better. The orders should have gone beyond the mere defence of the soil of Sweden; especially when it was known that the Danish attack had failed, and that the Russians could afford so small a portion of the forces as they actually employed in the invasion. The *real* cause of the quarrel was the compact between France and Russia, and if the English predilections of Sweden had not given a colourable occasion, some other pretext would have been found. Still, the *ostensible* cause of hostilities was the adherence of Sweden to the English alliance after the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the consequent dereliction of her duties as one of the conservators of the Baltic, in keeping up her friendly relations with us, after the practical demolition of the Danish fleet. Of the two acts, (one of commission and the other of omission,) the latter, in the mind of the present writer, is the one which lies the heaviest upon us.

I conclude with the following extract from the Russian Declaration of War, dated February 20, 1808:—

"But the question here was, the checking of those aggressions which England had commenced and by which all Europe was disturbed. The Emperor demanded from the King of Sweden a co-operation founded on treaties, but his Swedish Majesty answered, by proposing to delay the execution of the treaty to another period, and by troubling himself with opening the Dutch ports for England,—in a word, with rendering himself of service to that England, against which the measures of defence ought to have been taken. It would be difficult to find a more striking proof of partiality on the part of the King of Sweden towards Great Britain, than this which he has here given.

"His Imperial Majesty, therefore, cannot allow the relations of Sweden towards

Russia to remain any longer in a state of uncertainty. He cannot give his consent to such a neutrality. His Swedish Majesty, therefore, being no longer doubtful, nothing remained for his Imperial Majesty but to resort to those means which Providence has placed in his hands, for no other purpose except that of giving protection and safety to his dominions; and he has deemed it right to notify this intention to the King of Sweden, and to all Europe. Having thus acquitted himself of that duty which the safety of his dominions requires, his Imperial Majesty is ready to change the measures he is about to take to measures of precaution only, if the King of Sweden will, without delay, join Russia and Denmark in shutting up the Baltic against England until the conclusion of a maritime peace."

*Valeat quantum.* The real reason for the invasion of Finland was the proximity of the Swedish frontier to the Russian capital; and, according to the ordinary rules of political morality, it was a sufficient one.

Soon after the annexation circumstances changed. The good understanding between France and Russia came to an end; the overthrow of Napoleon followed; and, at the Congress of Vienna, Sweden had to be strengthened—though not at the expense of Russia; so, to make matters smooth, Denmark took Lauenburg and lost Norway; Sweden took Norway; and Finland remained with Russia.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Popular Poetry or National Literature of Finland.—The Fin Mythology.—The Kalevala.

WHATEVER the Fins may have taken from Sweden in the way of creed and civilization, their original character has been but slightly changed. The Fin physiognomy, the Fin temperament, the Fin language, and the remains of the original Fin heathendom still remain. Nor do they seem likely to give way to any exotic influences. They have been fostered and encouraged, rather than opposed, by Russia; which has shown no little wisdom in not only abstaining from the attempt to transform the Fins into Muscovites, but has made palpable efforts to develop a Fin, in opposition to a Swedish, nationality. Nevertheless, in even the latest ethnographical map of the Grand Duchy, the whole of the south-western coast is marked as *Fin and Swedish.* In the interior, however, and in the north the Scandinavian element decreases: until, on the frontier of Karelia, even the Lutheran form of religion is infringed on by that of the Greek Church.

Of the Fin physiognomy it is enough to say that, in such systematic works as deal in definite classes with broad lines of demarcation between them, it is designated by the term *Mongolian;* in other words, it is compared with that of the Asiatics of Central Asia and Siberia rather than with that of the Europeans of Germany, France, Italy, or Greece.

In respect to temperament the Fin is reserved, stubborn, obstinate, and enduring, with agricultural and maritime aptitudes, and a capacity, at least, equal to his opportunities.

His language is soft, with a paucity of consonantal combinations, and a highly developed declension—its congeners being the Vod, the Estonian, the Lief, and (less closely) the Lap, the

Votiak, the Zirianian, the Ostiak, the Vogul, the Magyar, the Tsherimis, the Mordvin, the Samoyed, and the Yukahiri. But of the Fin as the representative of a great ethnological class more will be said as we proceed; or, rather, more will show itself as population after population is treated as Fin or Ugrian—for *Ugrian* is the name which is most convenient for the class when we speak of it as a large and important *genus*.

That no small amount of heathendom underlies the imperfect Christianity of the Lithuanians has already been seen; and it has also been seen that in Estonia the amount of it increases. In Finland it obtains its *maximum;* many of the details being the same for each country. This, indeed, is what we expect from the similarity of the Fin and Estonian languages; not to mention other ethnological characteristics. In Finland, however, everything connected with mythology and legend is of large and grand dimensions. The Estonian narratives, with their human character and their moderate length, when they re-appear in Finland have expanded themselves into Epics. The small shrines scattered here and there in honour of some obscure divinities assume, in Finland, the proportions of a Pantheon. The Microcosm becomes Macrocosmic; and much of what is obscure, fragmentary, and (if taken by itself) unintelligible in the Estonian legends, grows clear and definite when illustrated by a Fin commentary.

In a preface to one of the earlier Fin translations of the Psalms, Bishop Agricola enumerates the heathen deities in whom, notwithstanding their nominal Christianity, the Finlanders of his time still believed in.

*Ucko* ciet pluvias, metuendaque fulgura vibrat,
*Rauna* movet ventos, fulmine et ipsa minax.
*Rongotheus* vestit flavente siligine campos,
Neve sit Agricolæ spes sua vana facit.
Hordea *Pellpeckus* cultis producit in arvis,
Zythifer et genti creditur esse Deus.
*Wirankannus* agros viridi fecundat avena,
*Egres* lina, fabas, rapaque pigra serit.
*Kondus* arat colles, atque ustis semina tesquis
Credere, Sarmatica callidus arte, docet.
At curat pecudem *Kekri*, atque propagine læta
Respondet votis, pastor avare tuis.
*Hisis* prosequitur tristeis urosque luposque,
*Nyrka* sciurorum dirigit omne genus.
*Hillavanus* leporis saltus moderatur hiberni,
Venator felix est *Tapionis* ope.

Retia lenta replet diversis piscibus *Achtes*,
*Lickio* sed plantis arboribusque præest.
Dejicit hinc *Turisas* infestos arcubus hostcis,
*Ilmarines*que idem regna quiete beat.
Cyclops *Krattus* opes veneranti donat alumno,
*Tontus* pacatam reddit ubique domum.
Luna coloratur variato lumine *Rachki*;
Prædaque fit *Kapeis* non vigilante Jove.
Prata bonus *Kalevas* viridanti gramine texit,
Atque replet fœno rustica tecta novo.
Dulce viatori carmen facit *Eunemoines*,
Quo tardæ fallat tædia longa viæ.

Now, in a poem published within the last thirty years, many of these names re-appear; so that the pagan element of the sixteenth century is the pagan element of the nineteenth also.

The *cultus* of *Jumala* (*Yumala*) is one of the great Ugrian characteristics. It is widely spread. It originated early. Languages, wherein the names of the minor and newer divinities are different, all agree in containing the root *Jum*—for the syllable *-la* is a derivational affix. Thus, in the Samoyed, the word is *Num*; the change from *y* to *n* being common. The Tsherimis form is *Juma*, the Zirianian *Jen* (from *yenm*, or *yeml*). The Estonian and Lap names are *Jummal* and *Jubmal* respectively.

We may talk, then, of the *Jumala-cultus* as being the chief *cultus* of the Ugrians. The meaning of the word is various. It denotes (1.) the Sky or Heavens; (2.) the God of the Sky or Heavens; (3.) God in general; the existing Finlanders who have been Christianized, using it in this third sense at the present moment, notwithstanding its relation to their old heathen mythology, just as we use the word *Hell* from the Goddess *Hela*.

*Ukko* bears a name with, apparently, a very definite signification. In the Magyar, *agg* means *old*. In Ostiak, *yig* does the same. In a secondary sense this latter word is *father*. Word for word, it is the *aga*, or *aka*, of the Turk dialects, wherein it has almost as many meanings as forms. All, however, imply seniority, and the respect which seniority demands. In Yakut it is *father*, in other languages *elder brother*, *uncle*, *grandfather*. In pursuance with this, Ukko is (as Lenqvist writes) *totius aulæ celestis senior et præses*; his designation being a title, or form of address rather than a true and proper personal name. It is

only this, however, in its primary etymology. In practice, it is a true and proper personal name as well. If so, Ukko is not only Pater and Princeps, but Diespiter, Jupiter, or Zeus. Like Zeus, too, he is the God of Heaven.

Ukko, who art in the heavens;
Ukko, father of the heavens;
Ukko, in the clouds that rulest,
And the clouds and breezes drivest;
Rule the clouds, and rule the heavens,—
Rule the sky and rule it kindly;
Send a cloud from east to westward,
Send a cloud from north to southward,
Send a cloud from west to eastward,
From the south send clouds and showers—
Clouds whose showers drop like honey, &c.

*Tapio*, of Tapio*la*, or Tapio-*land*, heads the list of the genii of the forest, presiding over the beasts, both of the chase and the homestead, more especially, however, those of the chase. Yet his apparel and harness are scarcely those of the hunter. His cap is made of the needles of the fir, his jacket of the lichens. His jacket fits tight, and his cap is like the mitre of a bishop; at least it bears the same name, *hippa*. His beard is brown, and his neck is long, so that he is sometimes called *Knippana* (long-necked) on that account. But he has many names besides this; or, at any rate, many circumlocutions under which he is invoked. He is the Lord of Tapiola; the Old Man of the Woods; the Elder of the Hills; the King of the Forest; the Master of the Waste; and the like.

His more especial epithet is *tarkha*, that is, the *exact* or *careful;* for where need a man be careful and exact if not in hunting?

He has a wife, a maid, and a son. The son is noticed first; because when he has been noticed the whole of the male part of Tapio's family is disposed of. Yet the family is a large one. It is large, but it is a family of daughters; for the gods of the Fin forest are chiefly goddesses. The Fauni and Silvani are Dryads and Oreads. *Nyyrikki*, however, or *Pinneys*, is a son; the son of Tapio; son and heir-male; well-shaped and comely, with a high cap on his head, like his father; but no jacket of lichens on his body. He has a blue vest instead, and he bears himself nobly in it

When the ways are foul, and the bogs deep, Nyyrikki, or Pinneys, makes bridges or lays stepping-stones; or, this being done already, directs the feet of the wandering huntsman to where they are. He marks, too, the trees, and, so doing, shows which way is to be taken, which avoided. Tapio, the father, gives the game. Nyyrikki, the son, gets it pursued in safety.

The mother of Nyyrikki and his numerous sisters is *Miellikki*. She has many names besides; but Miellikki is, probably, the commonest. She is the hostess of the woods; the mistress of the court of Tapio; the queen of the woodland; the mother of the honeycomb – of which she is the consumer as well. One of her names is *Simanten; sima* meaning *honey*. A damsel of her train is named Honeymouth.

If things go but badly, she is an ugly old woman dressed in rags, and those rags dirty. But if game be abundant, she is loaded with golden ornaments; rings on her fingers, rings on her toes, rings on her wrists, rings on her ankles, and ear-rings; all of gold. Golden, too, is the band round her forehead; and of gold the wires and pins of her hair. But her eyebrows are adorned with pearls, and her stockings are blue and her garters red.

As are the garments, so is the dwelling; so, at least, according to Castrèn's interpretation, runs an obscure passage in the Kalevala. Lemminkainen sings that one day, when he was a-hunting, he saw three houses, one of wood, one of bone, one of stone. The mansion of stone was the residence of Tapio when he was free and liberal in sending game. When he was chary, he lived in the lodge of wood; and when an actual niggard, in the bone-house. He owned treasures; of which honey in abundance was the chief. The key of the storehouse was of gold, and his wife, or housekeeper, kept it on a ring by her side. For Tapio had a housekeeper as well as his Miellikki. This was *Tellervo*, or *Hillervo*. She had a round and full figure with golden hair, and dressed herself in a fine linen smock with ornamented edges. I call her housekeeper, because I am uncertain about her actual relation to Tapio; who may have been a polygamist. She is called Tapio's maid and the maiden of the woods. She is once, however, if not oftener, called Tapio's wife; and, occasionally, she is confused with Miellikki.

She has a name to herself. So has the good-natured *Tuulikki*. The rest of the children, or maids, of Tapio, are known only by their function, which is to look after the wild and the tame. Collectively, however, the female portion of them (which, with the exception of Nyyrikki, means the whole) is called *Luonnottaret*, or *Luonnon tyttärat*. One of these is more especially *Metsan piika*, or the wood-maiden, short in stature, fond of music, fond of honey. Indeed, this is the young woman who has already been named as Honeymouth. Her flute is *Sima-pilli*, or honey-flute. She wakes the milkers with this, by blowing it in their ears if they be too late of a morning.

The remembrance of *Kekri* is still to be found in some parts of Finland, where All Saints' Day bears his name. It is the time when much corn is thrashed, so that, probably, Kekri is the genius of harvest, or the threshing-floor.

*Ahti* is the god of the sea; *Vellamo* being his wife.

Towards the end of the last century these and other remains of the original heathenhood commanded the especial attention of Ganander and Porthan; the latter the founder of the present school of mythological investigators. Then followed Topelius, who gave the germs of a system by arranging the legends round their several subjects. He collected, for instance, all those which appertained to a fabulous individual named *Vainamoinen*. Lönröt went further, both in the collection of legendary poems and in their arrangement. The result is the *Kalevala;* a Fin Ossian with fair claims to authenticity. It grew into form gradually, and was the work of more investigators than one. It is a pagan poem in respect to its machinery, though not without allusions to Christianity. Towards the end, the names even of Herod and the Virgin Mary appear; but this is in a kind of appendix to the poem, rather than the poem itself.

The Kalevala is a series of rhapsodies; the word being used in that technical sense in which it appears in the numerous writings on the Homeric poems. It is in the language of the present time and in the metre of Longfellow's Hiawatha; or rather, Hiawatha is in the metre of the Kalevala. The heroes are Vainamoinen, Illmarinen, and Lemminkainen, whose actions (like those of Diomed or Ulysses in the Iliad), though separate are still capable of being connected in such a manner as to give unity to

the poem in which they are exhibited. The scenes are, for the most part, in Kalevala and Pohiola. All three of the above-named agents agree in acting more or less in concert. They represent Kalevala as opposed to Pohiola. A sketch, however, of the details shall speak for itself.

It was for a space of thirty summers and thirty winters that Vainamoinen, the Ancient of Days, lay in the womb of his mother, and long seemed those thirty years to Vainamoinen. He asked the Sun and he asked the Moon to set him free, and he asked Charles's Wain; but neither the moon nor the sun nor the Wain of Charles heard him. So he freed himself. It was in the night that he was born, and he was born a smith. On the first morning he went to the smithy, and he forged himself a horse. It was as a straw; and he rode on its back to Vainogard and Kalevala. There was a Lap, and he squinted, and he had long borne a grudge against Vainamoinen. He had a bow and a quiverful of arrows, and he waited from morn till night, and from night till morn, for Vainamoinen by the waterside. It was on the waterside that he drew his bow upon him, and shot his arrows; though his mother, and his wife, and three men, and three spirits had said "Lap! Lap! shoot not Vainamoinen, for he is the son of thy father's sister." The first arrow flew too high. The second flew too low; but the third struck the horse of Vainamoinen on the left shoulder. So Vainamoinen fell into the sea, and lay there six years. For six years he lay adrift, with the waters below him and the sky above him. He raised his head, and there came an island. Where he stretched his hand there came a promontory, where his feet touched the bottom there came a fishing-ground. There came, too, from another quarter, an eagle—an eagle from Turialand and from Lapland. It was a nest that the eagle wanted, and it was on Vainamoinen's knee that it was made: for the Ancient of Days had raised his knees above the water, and they were all rough and shaggy like an old withered turf. Of this the eagle made its nest, and laid in it six eggs—six golden eggs. But the seventh egg was of iron. Vainamoinen felt the warmth and drew his knees under the water. He shook them, and the eggs rolled off. They rolled on a sunken rock and broke, and the eagle that had laid them flew away.

The lower part of the egg became the earth; the upper part the sky: the white became the sun, the yelk the moon. The little pieces that were broken-off became the stars. But Vainamoinen still lay adrift on the waters.

There blew a storm from the south-west; and at the west there was a rolling of billows: and Vainamoinen drove and drove before the wind, drifting and drifting on the billows, until he came to Pohiola—Pohiola the Dark. He had a hundred bruises on his side, a thousand buffets on his body.

Louhi, the mistress of Pohiola, had just risen. She had lit her fire, and had swept her hearth, and she went out to listen. What was it she heard? It was not a child that cried. It was not a woman who was moaning. The moaning was of a bearded man: the crying that of a Uvantolainen. So Louhi, the toothless, took her raft and put out to sea. Vainamoinen was very wet; so he got on the raft and sat at the steerage, whilst Louhi, the toothless, plied the oars, and rowed him to Pohiola, where she gave him flesh and honey to eat, and ale to drink. "Moan no more, Vainamoinen; cry no more, Uvantolainen: but live for the remainder of your days in Pohiola." But Vainamoinen said, "It is better to drink water in your own country than to fill yourself with ale on the ground of a stranger." Then said Louhi, "What will you do for me if I send you home?" and Vainamoinen answered, "What is it you want?" Louhi said, "Sampo." To which Vainamoinen replied, "I cannot make Sampo myself; but I know who can." "What's his name?" said Louhi. "Illmarinen," said Vainamoinen. "Let him do it, and he shall marry my daughter." So Vainamoinen set himself on a sledge, and started to drive from Pohiola the Dark and from the dreary Sariola.

Then rose up the fair maid of Pohiola and drew on her red stockings, and let herself be seen by Vainamoinen: who asked her to go with him in his sledge. "Willingly," said the maiden, "if you will do two things—cut through a tile with a blunt knife, and halve an egg without leaving a mark."

This Vainamoinen did, but the maiden would not go into the sledge: "Make for me," said she, "a boat."

Vainamoinen had now to use his axe; and he used it for the sake of the maid with the red stockings in Pohiola. He chopped

and chopped; but Lempo sat on the blade, and Pira on the head, and Hiisi on the handle; so that when he was striking his strongest stroke the axe glinted aside and hit him on the knee. The knee bled, and bled, and Vainamoinen was left a limping cripple. There was a spell to cure him; but he had forgot the most important words that belonged to it. All the rest he knew; but the working words he did not know.

However, there was some one who did; and him Vainamoinen went to seek. At the first house at which he knocked he heard the voice of a child; but the child told him that no one there knew anything about the spell. He was sent onward; but the old woman at the next house knew as little as the child. She sent him on to the next: in which there was an old man. With this old man ends the third canto, book, duan, or rune—for the name by which the divisions should be called is, to a great extent, arbitrary.

The fourth, which may easily be separated from the rest, is a dialogue between the old man who cures Vainamoinen and his patient. They talk, *inter alia*, of iron; and Vainamoinen talks to advantage. He does, however, nothing which bears upon the rest of the story, and the fifth canto begins with his journey homewards; or, rather, to the dwelling-place of Illmarinen. Vainamoinen gets into his sledge without help, and starts.

Upon getting home and meeting Illmarinen, he tells his adventures, and adds that in the land of Pohiola, there is a toothless old woman as mistress, who is named Louhi, a beautiful maiden who wears red stockings, and a great demand for Sampo. If Illmarinen can make Sampo, he can marry the fair girl with the scarlet stockings. Illmarinen, however, has no wish to marry, and, if he had, would not go to Pohiola for a wife.

Vainamoinen now brings forth a fir-tree out of the earth which grows, and grows, until it is so tall that Illmarinen believes that if he climb to the top of it he will touch the moon and Charles's Wain. So he swarms up it—backed, of course, by Vainamoinen. As soon as he is up high enough, Vainamoinen whistles for a wind, and the fir-tree is uprooted, and its upper half falls into the sea; and the lower half follows, and the whole drifts until it comes to Pohiola: upon which Illmarinen arrives, just as Vaina-

moinen had arrived before, and where he found just Vainamoinen's conditions of residence and marriage.

These are, that he should make Sampo, which he does. He fares, however, no better than Vainamoinen who did not; and the maid with the red stockings is as little the bride of Illmarinen as she was of Vainamoinen.

With Illmarinen's disappointment ends the fifth rune of the Kalevala; and from the negative character of its termination, as well as from the fact of both Vainamoinen and Illmarinen appearing in all the other runes, it is clear that the story is not ended. At the same time the portion which the first five runes deal with is sufficiently separate from the remainder to take the appearance of an independent story. It can be joined-on, or worked-in with the rest, or it can be cut-off, and kept-apart, just *ad libitum*. It is essentially *rhapsodic; i. e.* it is like a pattern in a piece of needle-work, or like a window in a perpendicular chapel. It can be kept to itself, or it can be worked-in as a part of something else.

With the sixth canto, a new story begins and a new character, Lemminkainen, comes upon the scene. Lemminkainen is the antipodes of Vainamoinen. Like Vainamoinen and Illmarinen, he is skilled in smith's work, in spells and the like. He is young and good-looking; whilst Vainamoinen is old and ill-favoured: yet, upon the whole, though successful with women, he is less successful than his old mate. The three, however, form a definite trio—Vainamoinen, Illmarinen, and Lemminkainen,—Lemminkainen, Illmarinen, and Vainamoinen.

Lemminkainen starts for Pohiola, but with no very definite reason; still less under any temptations on the part of either Vainamoinen or Illmarinen. In his journey, however, to Pohiola lies the connecting link between the sixth and the preceding cantos. We find, from an incidental notice in the sequel, that he was a married man who left a wife behind him. He delights in love-locks, and it is whilst he is brushing his hair that he declares his intention. His mother dissuades him: telling him that the Lap wizards will be too much for him. He does not much fear them. He has spells of his own which will match theirs—not to mention a strong coat-of-mail. "When the Laps kill Lemmin-

kainen, blood will come out of that brush," said he, and started. The brush was carefully put by, and watched.

It is on a sledge that he starts: not without a large feeling of complacency at his future triumphs over the Lap wizards.

Another name for Lemminkainen is Kaukomieli; though Lemminkainen is the commoner designation. He drives one day, two days, three days, stopping on the road, much as Illmarinen did, and asking for some one who can unharness and bait his horse. The first applications are made in vain; however, he reaches Pohiola, and is received by Louhi, whom he approaches without disturbing the dogs—at any rate, without their barking. "Who are you that come here so boldly—and no dog barks?"

"I've not come hither without wit and skill. Your wizards may do their worst."

So now a contest ensues, in which Lemminkainen overcomes all the Laps but one; and him he deems unworthy to be called a rival.

"Why don't you try me?" said the last old man of the weird company. To which Lemminkainen answers rudely, telling him that it is not against the like of him that he measures himself.

He, of course, suffers for this: for the old man betakes himself to the river Tuoni (which is interpreted the River of Death), and waits for Vainamoinen: whose immediate business is with Louhi and her daughter, the maid of the scarlet hose.

"You can have my daughter," said Louhi, "if you can run down the Hiisi elk with snow-skates." So Vainamoinen puts on his snow-skates and runs down the elk, after a long and adventurous run. Who can run in snow-skates like the sons of Kaleva?

"Now catch the Hiisi horse." The horse is caught.

"Now shoot the swan of Tuoni,"—the River of Death.

But the swan was not so easily shot as the horse and elk were caught. On the contrary, the quest brought Lemminkainen to his end: for it was to Tuoni that the old insulted wizard had betaken himself to wait for Lemminkainen, whom he kills in the water.

The mother and wife, who were left at home, now saw that the brush was bleeding; and the eighth canto gives a description of

the mother's search for her son. She reaches Tuoni, makes a rake, and rakes up the remains, and brings Lemminkainen to life.

The three next cantos deal entirely with Vainamoinen and Illmarinen without mentioning even the name of Lemminkainen. However, Pohiola and the mistress of Pohiola, and her daughter with red stockings, connect the story with what has gone before, and with what will follow. Vainamoinen will build himself a boat, so he takes his axe and walks to the wood and begins to fell an oak. But the oak says, "I shall do no good in a boat, there's a worm at my root, and there's a raven among my branches with blood on its beak, blood on its neck, and blood on its head." So Vainamoinen left the oak, and went on to the fir tree, and he would have made a good boat out of the fir tree if he had not forgotten the three words. He had finished the prow, and he had shaped the sides, but when he got to the stern the three words were wanting, and he could not think what they were. He met a herdsman, and the herdsman said, "You may get them out of the topknot of a swallow, or the shoulders of a goose, or the head of a swan." But, though Vainamoinen shot many hundreds of swans, geese, and swallows, he could not find the words. He then met another herdsman, who told him he would find them under the tongue of a reindeer, or under the lips of a white squirrel. But Vainamoinen killed hundreds of reindeer and thousands of squirrels without finding the words.

So he took counsel of his own thoughts, and said, "It is only in Tuoni and Manala that I shall find them," so he went one day, and he went two days, and on the third day he came to the river of Tuoni.

*Vainamoinen.*—"Daughter of Tuoni, bring out the boat."

*Daughter of Tuoni.*—"Not unless you tell me what brought you here."

*Vainamoinen.*—"Tuoni himself brought me here."

*Daughter of Tuoni.*—"I can tell when a man lies."

*Vainamoinen.*—"Iron brought me to Manala, steel brought me to Tuoni."

*Daughter of Tuoni.*—"I can tell when a man lies. If steel had brought you hither, blood would run from your clothes."

*Vainamoinen.*—"Fire brought me to Manala, flames to Tuoni."

*Daughter of Tuoni.*—"I can tell when a man lies. If fire had brought you to Tuoni, your clothes would be burnt."

*Vainamoinen.*—"Water brought me to Manala, water brought me to Tuoni."

*Daughter of Tuoni.*—"I can tell when a man lies. If water had brought you to Tuoni, your clothes would be dripping with wet."

After this answer Vainamoinen told the truth, and Tuoni's daughter ferried him over, gave him meat and drink, and left him asleep.

Now whilst he was sleeping, she netted a net of iron wire, and fastened it to a stone at the bottom, and drew it under the river and over the river, so that Vainamoinen should be caught in his sleep. But Vainamoinen, though very tired, slept lightly, and, when he knew what she had done, turned himself into a stone and lay at the bottom. However, the net caught him, when he turned himself into an eel, and slipped through the meshes.

It's not often that any one escapes from Tuoni and Manala.

So Vainamoinen went home, thinking and thinking about the Three Words, until he thought of Antero Vipunen, that old Kalava who had been dead for many years, and who could only be reached by going along a road made of the tips of needles, and the points of swords, and the edges of axes.

So he went to Illmarinen, and told him to make an iron shirt and a crowbar of iron, "for I am going to Antero Vipunen, the old Kaleva."

"Antero Vipunen has long been dead, and you won't get a word from him, nor yet half a word."

However Vainamoinen went his way, and travelled along the road made of the tips of needles, and the points of swords, and the edges of axes, until he came to where Antero Vipunen lay buried.

An aspen had grown from his shoulder, and a birch from his temples, and an alder from his jaw, and a willow from his breast, and a hornbeam from his forehead, and a fir from his teeth, and a larch from his foot.

The aspen tree that grew from Antero Vipunen's shoulder, and the birch from his temples, and the alder from his jaw, and the willow from his beard, and the hornbeam from his forehead, and

the fir from his teeth, and the larch from his feet did Vainamoinen chop up and throw down. He, then, drove his crowbar through the mould into Antero Vipunen's mouth. Now Antero Vipunen could not swallow the crowbar, so he swallowed Vainamoinen instead. Vainamoinen is now in the stomach of Antero Vipunen, and bethinks himself of what he can do. He takes off his shirt, and out of the sleeves makes bellows, out of his breeches he makes the pipe, out of his stockings the mouth, uses his own knee as an anvil, his elbows for a hammer, and his little finger for tongs: and so sets to work in the bowels of Antero Vipunen, whereat the old Kalava breaks out in singing. He sings through nearly four hundred lines. He ends his song by spitting out Vainamoinen, who out of it has been lucky enough to pick the three words, and with these he returns to Illmarinen.

"Well, what has the good old man told you? has he told you how to build the boat?"

"That is just what he has done," said Vainamoinen, "and I'm now going to build it."

The boat is built, and Vainamoinen is on his way to Pohiola, thinking of Louhi and the maiden with the scarlet hose. On his way he sails by a promontory, and there he sees the maiden Anni.

Anni was Illmarinen's sister, and she was busy in the bucktub, washing her linen on the sea-shore. "What's that in the distance?" said she; "it can't be a flock of geese, nor yet a swarm of fish, nor yet a rock; it must be a boat, it must be Vainamoinen's." So she hailed the boat, and asked what the boatman wanted.

"I have come," said Vainamoinen, "to see how they catch salmon in Manela."

"I know when a man tells a lie," said Anni; "when my father and grandfather went to catch salmon, they went with nets and spears."

"I have come to see how they catch geese."

"I know when a man tells a lie," said Anni, "it was not in a boat like that, that my father and grandfather caught geese."

"Come with me in a boat," said Vainamoinen.

"If you'll tell no more lies I will," said Anni.

So Vainamoinen told Anni the truth, and Anni went and told it again to her brother Illmarinen.—Illmarinen, who, as we know

from previous story, was himself a wooer for the fair maid of Pohiola. So Illmarinen proposed to accompany Vainamoinen, and Vainamoinen was fain to put up with his company. Before they started, Illmarinen provided himself with rich gifts of gold and silver, and it must be remembered he was the younger man. They both arrived at the same time, and when Louhi saw them it was the old Vainamoinen whom she would fain have chosen for her daughter, but the daughter chose for herself. Vainamoinen asked her to be his wife at once, and was at once refused. Illmarinen asked her also, and was told that she would live with him if he would do three things. There was a field full of snakes, and this field he must plough; there was a wood full of bears and wolves, and these he must muzzle; there was a pike in the river of Tuoni which he must catch without tackle. All this he did, and told Vainamoinen that he had done it, whereupon the old smith hung down his head, turned his back, went homewards, and said these words: "Sons of men, born and unborn, do anything before you do business with Illmarinen.

> "Never swim a match,
> Never lay a wager,
> Never woo a maiden,
> With Illmarinen the smith."

The story might now end, inasmuch as the three next cantos are devoted to a description of the marriage. The details, however, are sufficiently numerous, sufficiently important, and sufficiently original to form a poem by themselves. They stand between what proceeds and what follows them, but they give us neither a breach nor a continuity. The wedding is celebrated in Pohiola, and it is Louhi who provides both the beef and the beer. There is no lack of either, but, on the contrary, a superfluity of both. They have to kill an ox, but this ox is of such a vast size that they have to go far for the butcher. It reached from the Gulf of Finland to the Arctic Ocean, so that it must have overshadowed all Finland and all Karelia. It was broad enough to stand with one foot in Lapland and one in Siberia.

From the tip of one horn to the tip of the other a swift swallow might fly on a summer's day.

From the root of the tail to the tuft at the end a squirrel could run in a month, resting for one night half-way.

It was in Finland that the ox was calved, and it was fed in Karelia. The tail swished Tavastaland; the head touched Kemi: one foot was put-down in Olonets, another in Turialand; the third on the waterfall of Vuoksen, and the fourth in Lapland. The butcher who can kill it is not to be found.

Neither is it an easy matter to brew the ale. They can get the hops, and they can get the malt; but they can't get the yeast.

The daughter of Louhi is told to send out a squirrel, but the squirrel is sent out in vain. She then sends out a martin, but the martin returns without the yeast, or, at any rate, without the means of making the brewing work. At last they send out a little bird named Mihilainen, who flies over nine seas, and half-way over a tenth, brings back some honey, and the ale is brewed. But it works so quickly, that no one vat, nor any ten vats will hold it; nor can it be held at all unless certain songs are sung by the company which has to drink it. So they apply to all the skilful singers, and, amongst them, to the old trusty Vainamoinen; whose songs are effective. Meanwhile they take especial care not to ask the lively wicked Lemminkainen.

Lemminkainen, however, comes uninvited. There is a great feast, and, after a time, Illmarinen is ready to go with his bride, and the bride seems only too willing to go with him. Her mother blames her for this, and then she is too much the other way. However, at the end, they start, reach Illmarinen's country, and have another great feast, which is prepared by Illmarinen's mother.

More episodic than the most episodic of their predecessors are the two next cantos—the seventeenth and eighteenth. They begin with the names Ahti and Kauko, each meaning the same person, and each, as we see in the sequel, meaning Lemminkainen.

Ahti, however, Kauko, or Lemminkainen, who dwells on a promontory, is busy at the plough. No one has such quick ears as Ahti: so he hears what is going-on in Pohiola; hears the sounds of messages containing invitations to a feast; hears the sound of the preparations for the feast itself; hears the names of many guests; but fails to hear his own. So he mounts his horse, and goes home to his mother: "Mother, mother, make ready the meat, and warm the bath; I must eat and wash." So his mother made

ready the meat and warmed the bath. "Mother, mother, bring out my harness."

"Whither wilt thou go? to the wood, or to the sea, or to hunt the elk?"

"Not to hunt the elk, nor yet to the sea, nor yet to the wood. There is a wedding-feast in Pohiola, and I am not bidden to it."

The mother now went far in her dissuasions, telling him of many dangers, but of three most especially. The first was the cataract of flame; the second was the island of fire in the middle of a fiery lake; the third was the snakes at the gates of Pohiola itself—gates which were of iron and which reached from the earth to the sky.

"I can overcome all this," said Lemminkainen.

"But there are other dangers besides."

"Never mind, give me my harness; I look upon him as a man who can draw an arrow to the head on Lemminkainen's bow."

"Be it so; but when you drink empty only half the can."

He started, and overcame the three difficulties; not, however, without much detail, both in the way of action and of dialogue, and reached Pohiola.

*Lemminkainen.* The bidden guest is welcome, but more welcome still the unbidden one.

*Louhi.* I am sorry to see you. The ale is still in the malt, the malt in the corn. The wheaten bread has yet to be baked; the meat to be boiled. It were better for you to have come a night sooner or a day later.

But Lemminkainen would both eat and drink, and one of Louhi's maidens was told to bring him ale. She brought it in a double-handled can. There was water at the top, dregs at the bottom, and venom and snakes in the middle. But Lemminkainen took a probe of iron from his pocket, put it in the beer, and brought up hundreds of worms and thousands of black snakes. "Give me better ale than this."

But Louhi called-up a heavy stream of water to overflow the room and drown Lemminkainen.

Then Lemminkainen called up an ox to drink up the water

Then Louhi called up a wolf to tear down the ox.

Then Lemminkainen called up a white hare for the wolf to eat instead of the ox.

Then Louhi called up a dog to kill the hare.

Then Lemminkainen called up a squirrel to get on the dog's tail.

Then Louhi proposed that they should measure swords. The Pohiola weapon was no bigger than a grain of corn, no longer than the line of dust under a finger-nail.

The fight indoors only spoilt the doorposts. So they went out and continued the battle. They laid down a cow-hide, and on that they fought. The champion of Pohiola could not so much as draw blood. Lemminkainen, however, cut off his enemy's head at the first blow.

A loud yell from Louhi now brought down upon Lemminkainen the whole host of Pohiola; whereon he thought it better to go away. He got on his horse, and he rode home to his mother, sad in spirit, and with his head hanging down.

"Is it from drinking? Is it women? Is it a horse?"

"It is no horse; no woman; no drink. Get ready some meal, and let me have butter enough for the first year, and swine's flesh enough for the second. There are swords whetting, and lances gleaming. I've killed a champion of Pohiola. Where, mother, can I hide?"

*Mother.* It is hard to hide. If you are a fir or a birch you may be cut down; if you are a cloudberry or a bilberry you may be picked; pike are not safe in the waters, nor bears in the wood.

*Lemminkainen.* Whither can I go? Swords are whetting, lances gleaming.

*Mother.* I know of one place, and one only; but if I tell you where it is you must swear a strong oath that neither for silver nor for gold you will go to the wars for ten summers. So the son swore the oath to the mother.

Then Lemminkainen pushed off his boat and went in search of the island. The maidens of the island welcomed him. There was not a town in the island, but what had ten houses. There was not a house in the island, but what had ten maidens. There was not a maiden in any house by the side of whom Lemminkainen did not sleep; not one in ten, two in a hundred, or three in a thousand. These were the only maids and wives of the island without a name whom Lemminkainen failed to please; indeed, there was only one with whom he failed.

From town to town went Lemminkainen until he came to a town where there were men as well as maids. At last he saw no house in which there were not three rooms, no room in which there were not three fighting-men, no fighting-man who was not either sharpening a sword or whetting an axe.

It is now time for the disappointed traveller to get back to his boat. But the boat was a heap of ashes.

He builds another and pushes off. The wind rises and, on the third day, he comes to an island.

*The boat.*—Why was I built? Ahti no more will go to the wars, neither for silver nor for gold; not for ten summers.

*Ahti* (*Lemminkainen*).—Do not grieve; you shall still see some battles. I *will* go to the war.

So Ahti girded himself up for the war, though he broke the strong oath he had sworn to his mother. "Who shall I get to stand by my side—another man, another sword?" He had heard of Tiero; so he gets Tiero as a companion.

The next rune I pass over *sicco pede*. Though, in Castrèn's analysis, connected with what follows, it has no necessary connection with any part of the story: being little more than a scene in the life of Kullervo an Estonian rather than a Fin hero.

The next, however, gives us our old friends.

Sorrow sat heavy on Ilmarinen. He wept much a-mornings, more at noon, most at night. He was always plying his hammer, and he sought for gold and silver in the sea. Thirty loads of wood did he heap up, burnt them into charcoal, and smelted with it both his silver and his gold. His bellows, too, were always blowing. The thralls blew at them, and were never weary: the hired workmen blew at them fierce and fast. It's a wife of silver and gold that Ilmarinen will make for himself.

But now the thralls blew lazily and the hirelings slowly: so that it is Ilmarinen himself who must blow. Once he blows. Twice he blows. Thrice he blows. He looks along the bellows into the ashes of the charcoal and sees a sword—fair to see, bad to use. Every day it kills one man; on some days two. The sight of such a sword gladdens the thralls, but grieves the master.

And now Ilmarinen stirs the fire with his sword, and throws in of gold a capful, and of silver a hatful. The thralls blow well, but it is Ilmarinen who must go on with the blowing. He blows

once, twice, thrice; looks down the bellows; sees a horse—fair to see, bad to use. The thralls are glad, but the master sorry.

Another capful of gold; another hatful of silver; more blowing by the thralls; more by Ilmarinen. From this comes a yellow-haired maiden. It is now the thralls who grieve, and the master who is glad.

But she has neither mouth nor eyes. These, however, Ilmarinen can give her. But he cannot give her speech. Yet she is fair to view: and Ilmarinen takes her to his bed. Sparks flash from the gold: sparks from the silver. "For whom will such a wife as this do? The old Vainamoinen will suit her, and her he shall have for his life."

The first night the old Vainamoinen slept by the side of his bride. The next night he dressed himself in wool. He wore five—six folds of flannel, and two—three bearskins. For all this the bride froze him into ice. "Young men," said the old Vainamoinen, "never marry wives of silver and gold."

Meanwhile Ilmarinen with sunken head and cap on one side betook himself to Pohiola for a wife of flesh and blood; but the hostess of Pohiola only called him a blood-hound, an eater of raw flesh, and a drinker of warm blood. So he brought no wife thence; but twisted his mouth, hung his head, shook his beard, and went homewards, when he met Vainamoinen.

"What is the news from Pohiola?"

"There is good living in Pohiola, for in Pohiola you may find Sampo."

*Vainamoinen.* Let us go and get it.

*Ilmarinen.* It is hard to get: it lies in a rock of stone, in a hill of copper, with nine locks and nine bolts. Its roots stretch nine fathoms deep, one in the earth, one in the water, one on the brink of the sky.

*Vainamoinen.* For all its hills, and all its rocks, and all its bolts, and all its roots, we'll get it. Let us make a sword with a fiery blade for the dogs of Pohiola.

So Ilmarinen set about the sword. He laid the iron in the fire; the thralls worked at the bellows, the hired workmen blew with the bellows; the thralls blew without ceasing: the hired workmen blew quick; until Ilmarinen, looking among the coals, saw a sword. He made for it a hilt of gold and silver and said to

himself, "this sword suits the bearer." After this, he put on a shirt of iron and a belt of steel, and said to himself, "the shirt and belt suit the bearer." And now came the time for starting; Vainamoinen said "Let us go by water." Ilmarinen said "Let us go by land."

Whilst they were debating, Vainamoinen heard the voice of a boat, of a boat bewailing to itself: "The house of the man is the longing of the maiden; the billows of the sea are the longings of the boats. They said when they made me that I should be sent out to the wars. Worse boats than I go thither and bring back with them more than a king would earn in six—more than a smith in seven—summers. I was built by Vainamoinen and here I rot, with the worst of the grubs of the field in my planks and the worst of the birds of the air in my masts. Better be a fir-tree in the forest."

*Vainamoinen.* If you are Vainamoinen's boat, you can free yourself from your moorings, and take to the sea, without the help of hands.

*Boat.* Without hands neither I nor my brother boats can take to the sea.

*Vainamoinen.* If I unmoor you, can you run without a steerer?

*Boat.* Neither I nor my brother boats can run without a steerer.

*Vainamoinen.* If you are helped by oars and there is wind in your sails can you take to the sea?

*Boat.* I can take to the sea if there be wind in my sails and if I be helped by oars.

So Vainamoinen unloosed the boat, and sang for a crew. On one side was a crew of fair maidens, on the other a crew of bold bachelors. Vainamoinen steered at first, but after him Ilmarinen; and, with Ilmarinen steering, the boat shot away like a swan, until it came to a promontory where Ahti was sitting, where Kanko was sitting. Now Ahti or Kanko was Lemminkainen, who, when he saw Vainamoinen and Ilmarinen, and heard they were after Sampo, joined in the search.

The old Vainamoinen steers and steers until he comes to a waterfall; and to the maiden of the waterfall he prays that she will let his boat force its way through the rock that lies before

it. He prays, too, to Ukko to let him pass onward. However, the boat will not move on, and Vainamoinen must think what it is that stops it. It is not a stone, and it is not a sand-bank; it is a big pike, and the boat has run aground on its shoulders. Lemminkainen sticks at it, but only breaks his sword; Ilmarinen does the same. Vainamoinen, however, digs into the flesh of the fish. After lifting it into the boat, he cries out to his boatmates, "Who is the oldest man amongst you? for he must cut up the fish." But the boatmates cry out to both the men and the women, "Who's got cleaner hands than the fisherman himself? Let him cut up the fish."

So Vainamoinen cut up the fish and said, "What shall we do with his teeth?"

"What can we do with them?" said Ilmarinen, "they are bad at the best."

"A skilful smith," said Vainamoinen, "might make a harp of them; but where is the skilful smith?"

That was Vainamoinen himself. So he made a frame out of the fir-tree, and the teeth of the pike he made into pegs. However, a little thing was yet wanting—where shall they find a string? They found that in the tail of the horse of Hiisi. Now "play on it some old man," but no old man could play on it. "Play on it some young man," but no young man could play on it. Lemminkainen tried to play. Ilmarinen tried to play. Neither Ilmarinen nor Lemminkainen could play on it; so the old trusty Vainamoinen sends the harp to Pohiola, the *kantel* to Kalevala. The hostess of Pohiola plays, the lads of Pohiola play, the lasses play, the bachelors play, the married men play. None of them, however, can bring out a sweet sound; and the old man himself must play. So he washes his thumbs, and sits on the stone of glee, by the side of a silvery brook, on the top of a golden hill. And now the sounds flowed sweetly—the sounds from the teeth of the pike, the sounds from the tail of the horse of Hiisi. Not a beast in the forest but came to hear it, nor a bird in the air but it listened. The wolf awoke in its cave, and the bear danced on the heath; the whole band of Tapio came to hear the sound, and Tapio's wife, with her blue stockings and her red shoe-strings, came to hear it. Not a beast in the forest but came, not a bird in the air but it listened. The eagle flew down from the

sky, the hawk from the cloud, the duck from the sea, and the swan from the river—all the little finches, thousands of larks, and tens of thousands of siskins. The maidens of the air came to hear it, and the sun and the moon listened. Not a living thing in the water but came to hear it; and the fishes with their six fins listened. The salmon came, and the pike came, and the dog-fish came with them; and by hundreds and by thousands came all the little fishes. Ahti, with his grey beard, came to hear it, and his wife, who had combed her golden hair with a silver brush, listened to the sound of Vainamoinen's harp.

No heroes were so stern of mood, and no women so tender-hearted, but they heard and wept. Young cried, old cried, the bachelors, and even the married men, cried; middle-age men, and youths, maidens, and little children all cried. At last Vainamoinen cried himself, with tears as big as berries, and as numberless as the feathers of a swallow. They rolled from his cheek to his breast, from his breast to his knee, from his knee to his ankle, from his ankles to his feet. They wetted his five woollen jackets, his six golden belts, his seven blue shirts, and his eight flannel waistcoats. Down they rolled into the sea, and became pearls. "Who'll pick up my tears?" said Vainamoinen. No one picked up the tears of Vainamoinen. At last there came a blue duck, and the blue duck dived to the bottom of the sea, and brought up the tears of Vainamoinen.

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Vainamoinen was one, Ilmarinen another, Lemminkainen the third.

"What's the news?" said the hostess of Pohiola.

"We are come to take our share of Sampo," said Vainamoinen.

"You cannot part a minever, nor yet halve a squirrel," said the hostess of Pohiola.

So Vainamoinen began to play on his harp, and the men of Pohiola fell asleep. He went on playing, and the bolts of the doors were moved. So Ilmarinen rubbed them over with butter, and pushed back the locks, but he could not reach Sampo.

He took an ox with a hundred horns—a beast with a thousand heads, and he ploughed up the ground till Sampo came in sight.

The old Vainamoinen was one, Ilmarinen was another, and Lemminkainen was the third.

They put out their arms and laid hands on Sampo, and took it to the boat.

"I know where to take it to," said Vainamoinen.

"But why don't you sing?" said Lemminkainen.

"It's too soon for that," said Vainamoinen.

The wind blew till it shook the boat, and the hostess of Pohiola awoke, and woke up her men. A thousand went to the oars, and a thousand set up the sails, and they all went after Vainamoinen. Lemminkainen ran up the mast, and Vainamoinen asked him what he saw. "I see hawks on the aspen-trees, and eagles on the birches."

"Don't tell lies," said Vainamoinen; "but look again."

"I see a cloud from the north, a storm from the north-west."

"Don't tell lies," said Vainamoinen; "look again."

"I see," said Lemminkainen, "the boats of Pohiola, with a hundred rudders, and a thousand oars; a hundred men whetting their swords, and a thousand men with their swords by their sides."

"Row, mates, row; row Ilmarinen; row Lemminkainen; row one, row all."

Vainamoinen took out his tinder-box and threw a bit of tinder over his left arm into the sea. "Burn, tinder, burn; burn all the boats of Pohiola."

The hostess of Pohiola, the toothless old woman, now changed her shape. The oars became wings, the rudder became a tail, and she and her boat became an eagle.

"I come to halve Sampo," said Vainamoinen.

"I come to take the whole of it," said the hostess of Pohiola.

Ilmarinen cut at her three times with the sword, but could not wound so much as one of her claws. Lemminkainen cut at her too, but the hostess of Pohiola only said, "I pity your mother, to whom you promised that neither for silver nor gold would you go to the wars for ten summers."

Vainamoinen cut at her too, and he left of her claws no more than a little finger. Down dropt the men into the sea; a hundred from the wings of the eagle, a thousand from the tail, ten from each feather, as the squirrel falls from the branch of a fir-tree. Down plumped Louhi herself.

But she laid a finger on Sampo, and threw it into the sea. There it lies; and the wealth of the sea is Sampo. Only a few bits were cast upon the shore, and from these came ploughing and sowing, and the wealth of the earth. A little bit only did the hostess of Pohiola keep, and this she took home, but the rest of Sampo is missing in Pohiola, and lost to Lapland.

If a poem which consists in the narrative of an endless contest between two series of immortal beings, who never know when they are beaten, can be said to ever have a natural ending, the Kalevala, as far as the epic's conditions of a beginning, a middle, and an end are complied with, may now be said to have come to its close. Yet we are far from the termination of the book that bears that name. Castrèn, who (from the work which he has so well translated and which he has done so much to make known to the world at large) is our great authority, especially states that, where the contest between the powers represented by the hostess of Pohiola, and the powers represented by Vainamoinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkainen, comes to a conclusion, the true Kalevala ends. However, he carries it beyond the date of the event last noticed—*i. e.* the sinking of Sampo in the sea.

With the *sequelæ* to this the twenty-third canto begins, in which we may remark that none of the old heroes, except Vainamoinen, plays any conspicuous part—no conspicuous part in the first instance at least—that we get a new name (*Sampsa* Pellervoinen) whose Christian name (so to say) is wonderfully like *Sampo;* that we get more decidedly than heretofore into Ingria, and Estonia, rather than Finland Proper; and, finally, that a notable Christian element exhibits itself in the greater solemnity of some of the invocations and the use of the name Creator, which, though it has occasionally appeared in the previous runes, appears much more frequently in the forthcoming ones.

So the old trusty Vainamoinen picks up from the sea-shore some bits of Sampo, and takes them to Sampsa Pellervoinen, perhaps the Kullervo of a previous rune. "Sow and plough, and out of these will come wealth." So Sampsa Pellervoinen sowed and ploughed. Six sorts of seeds, seven kinds of fruit did he put in a squirrel-skin bag, and he sowed them until grass, and corn, and trees of all kind grew — some ten, some a hundred,

some a thousand fold. One tree alone would not spring up—and that was God's tree, the oak.

He had prayed to Ukko. He had loosened the oxen of his plough. He had gone one night, two nights, three nights, and come back again, for as many days, to see whether the oak would grow.

At last it grew too much for his good. It hid its branches amongst the clouds and its top among the heavens. It shaded and over-shaded the earth. It kept off the light of the moon. It kept off the warmth of the sun. The old troubles of cold and darkness had come upon Vainamoinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkainen again; and it was the Hostess of Pohiola that was the contriver of the evil. "What can be done, if the oak cannot be cut down? Who can do it?" said Vainamoinen.

There came up a little man from the sea. He was (like the ox of the wedding-feast) not of the largest nor yet of the smallest. He was a span in length; and he was all clad in copper—copper his hat, copper his shoes, copper his gloves, copper everything.

So he whetted his axe. Five stones from Estland; six quern-stones; seven grinding-stones—with these he whetted it.

And he became a man—a big man. The small of his leg was a fathom; his knee-bone a fathom and a half; his hip three fathoms. One foot forward and he reached the strand. Another foot forward and he reached the field where stood the oak. One blow—sparks; two blows—sparks; three blows—the oak fell to the ground. Its twigs made arrows for the bowmen, and lucky was he who got for himself one of its leaves. Vainamoinen was glad. "Now let us plough and sow." What was sown grew, and Vainamoinen would fain have taken the light of the moon, and the warmth of the sun, and the seed of the field to Suomela.

But the Hostess of Pohiola had another arrow in her quiver; and she locked up the moon in a rock, and the sun in a hill.

"Do what ye can now with your ploughing and your sowing," said she. Besides this she sang songs that brought hail and snow, frost and rain, that charmed the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. Meanwhile, Vainamoinen prayed to Ukko.

But Louhiatar helped Louhi, and bore nine sons—ten sons; all at one birth. There was Fever, Gout, Colik, Ague, Plague,

and their brethren. What can Vainamoinen do with these? The sons of Vainos die under a strange ailment. A sudden sickness takes the Luoto-folk. What can Vainamoinen do? He sits over his fire, makes a salve, and calls upon the Creator. "Is this a plague from the Creator, or is it a punishment?" This is very like what Antero Vipunen had said before, and not very unlike something in the Book of Kings.

He also called upon Kivatar, the mother of ailments, and having got all of them together, put them in a little pot, no bigger than the three fingers of a man, and pitched them into a hole in a rock. With this and with the salves he cast out the sicknesses that the songs of Loulii had raised up.

Still neither sun nor moon shone. So Vainamoinen bespoke Illmarinen (who now for the first time appears in these extraneous runes or cantos) and asked him to go up into the sky to look after these two great bodies and Charles's Wain. They went up and found a maid on a cloud. She kept watch over the fire; but a spark had got away and gone downwards to the earth.

Ilmarinen and Vainamoinen built a boat and went after it. Sampsa Pellervoinen steered and it was over Neva up which he steered them. There they met the oldest of women—the mother of mankind; from whom they learned that the spark had left Truris, Palvonen, Tuoni, and Manala and that it was in the Lake Aluejarvi that a perch had swam after, but a white-fish had swallowed, it. A salmon had swallowed the white-fish, a pike the salmon. So Vainamoinen made a net, and prayed to Wellamo. The Sun's son came and helped them.

"Shall I pull my best, or pull only for what is wanted?"

"For what is wanted."

So they set the net, and took a huge draught of fishes; but the pike was not among them. Again they set it, and the pike was taken. In the belly of the pike they found the salmon; in the belly of the salmon the white-fish; in the belly of the white-fish a perch; in the belly of the perch a blue ball of twine; in the blue ball of twine the spark. But it was the gain of a loss. The spark blazed, and blazed—and burnt, and burnt, until all was well-nigh burnt up. Ilmarinen, however, was able to sing down the flames—the flames of Panu.

The sun shone not; neither did the moon: and there was sor-

row in the hearts of men. The fish knew the burrows of the deep, and the eagle knew the flight of the bird, and the wind knew which way the goose flew; but when day, dawn, and night came in no man knew. The young thought and the men of the middle-age thought about the sun and the moon and Charles's Wain. So Vainamoinen went to the smithy (whether his or Ilmarinen's is not stated) and wrought at the forge, till the sweat ran from his brow, to make a new sun and a new moon out of silver and gold. And he made them: but they were of no more good than the wife of the same materials. They would neither shine with light, nor glow with warmth.

"I must hie to Pohiola."

On the third day he reached the waters of Pohiola.

"A boat!"

But no boat came. So he whistled for a wind, and a wind took him over.

"One foot from the stream to the strand," cried the crew. So Vainamoinen, with both his feet from the stream to the strand strode up.

*The crew.* Now to the halls of Pohiola!

*Pohiola's warriors.* What does the rascal want here?

*Vainamoinen.* The sun and the moon.

*Pohiola's warriors.* Measure swords, and let the longest strike the first blow.

Vainamoinen's sword was the longer by a barley-corn, by a straw's breadth; and after cleaving the skulls of the warriors of Pohiola, he went to let out the sun and the moon.

But there was a rock of iron with ten doors and ten locks. So he betook himself to Ilmarinen, and asked him to forge a grapple with three prongs, a dozen axes, and a load of keys. One day worked Ilmarinen—two days worked Ilmarinen. On the third day came a lark to him.

*The lark.* Hear me, Ilmarinen, smith! you are just a first-rate smith; a hammerer without a match.

*Ilmarinen.* I am this because I always look towards God as I forge and as I weld a lock for the wind and sky.

*The lark.* But what is it you are forging now?

*Ilmarinen.* A ring for the necks of the hated women of Pohiola.

So the Hostess of Pohiola flew away with a sad mind; and when the morning dawned came again to the smithy of Ilmarinen as a dove. "News! The sun has come out of its rock; the moon has got loose from the hill." So Ilmarinen looked up; and when he felt the sun glowing and the moon shining broke forth into singing, "Old, and trusty Vainamoinen, come and see the sun and the moon." So Vainamoinen came, and with his song to the sun, ends the twenty-seventh rune or canto.

* * * * * * * * *

With the song to the sun, Castrèn considers that the true Kalevala ends. In his translation, however, there are still five more runes; of which all that can be said in the way of connection and unity with what has preceded is that Vainamoinen appears in them.

*Twenty-eighth rune.*

Old trusty Vainamoinen says to himself, "I must kill a bear."

He says much besides this; but the further details of his speech are unimportant as parts of the Kalevala, except so far as they give us a great number of mythologic names—Mielikki, Tellervo (*K*ullervo and *P*ellervoinen we have had before) Ohto, Tapio, and Tapiola, or Tapio's land. With these we find the name of the Creator.

*Twenty-ninth rune.*

Old trusty Vainamoinen says to himself, "I must make a harp," &c., &c. Ahti, Wellamo, and Ilmarinen appear in this canto.

*Thirtieth and thirty-first runes.*

Old trusty Vainamoinen walks out and meets Joukahinen, who will not make way for him. They fight until Joukahinen's sister is promised by her brother to Vainamoinen. But the sister is recalcitrant; and the disappointment of the old trusty one is, among other details, the result.

*Thirty-second rune.*

This is, at one and the same time, very scriptural and very unscriptural. It is decidedly based upon the narrative of the birth of our Lord, and it is evidently successful in transforming it into

something else. It can scarcely be translated without engendering the notion of a caricature; indeed, how can it be otherwise in a poem, when by the side of Marietta (Mary) and Herodes (Herod) we have Tapio and Pillti with other incongruities to match ?

With a few verses in the way of epilogue ends this remarkable poem consisting of nearly thirteen thousand lines.

Those who love to discover the symbolic in the material may make out of it the antagonism between good and evil, between summer and winter, between light and darkness, between the Laps and the Fins; between, in short, any two opposing elements of any possible dualism. Those, too, who love difficult investigations and uncertain conjectures may tax their ingenuity in trying to find out what was meant by Sampo. It was, to a great extent, a mystery to Vainamoinen and Ilmarinen themselves, who, though they made and stole it, got but little use out of it.

Some commentatators have thought it a talisman, some a mill, some this thing, some that. What it was, however, is doubtful. It was made out of a swan's feather, a fibre of wool, a grain of corn, and bits of a broken distaff; to which some accounts add the milk of a cow. It ground a grist of three measures, one for the house, one for sale, and one for the granary. What it did to help the plougher and the sower we have already seen.

More instructive, because more intelligible than the inner meaning of the story is its outer history; and it is one which the thousand-and-one still unborn commentators on the great Homeric poems will do well to attend to; especially with a view to its essentially rhapsodic character; *rhapsodic* being taken in its strict etymological sense and with a definite technical import. By the skilful welding together of several isolated poems into a single mass, the Kalevala has become what may be dignified by the name of Epic; to which, if we choose, we may prefix the terms *great* and *national*. Its dimensions justify the first, its language and locality the second of these respectable adjectives.

The Wollfian doctrine of the rhapsodic character of the Homeric poems, had the existing state of knowledge been sufficient for the criticism, would scarcely have been paradox. As it was, it dealt with the Iliad and the Odyssey as ordinary epics; com-

paring them only with those of Virgil, Tasso, Ariosto, Camoens, Ercilla, and Milton; epics of which the single-handed authorship was a patent historical event, as clear as that of the authorship of Falconer's Shipwreck or Glover's Leonidas. The fact that was either not recognized or not promulgated was, the essentially rhapsodic character of *all* known poems belonging to that stage of civilization to which the Homeric compositions are referred. With the recognition of this, the method, as well as the details, of the criticism wants changing: and it is not so much a question whether the facts in the structure of two wonderful poems justify the hypothesis that they arose out of the agglutination of rhapsodies, but whether there is even a presumption against their having done so.

The merits of the Kalevala will of course be different in the eyes of its different readers. They have had, however, ample justice done to them in more quarters than one. The poem probably has been more praised than read, though the readers of it have been numerous, and the imitators not a few. Indeed, whatever may be its demerits, it is essentially a readable poem; this is because, the narrative itself having enough of movement to stimulate the reader's attention, its strange tenor makes it impossible for him to guess what will come next; whilst the metre is short and pleasant, the images clear, the play of fancy pleasing. From the number of repetitions the poem seems shorter than it is.

Of those who can read it with ease and pleasure in the original Fin, the number out of Finland is few. Neither does the present expositor belong to them, notwithstanding his criticism and his exposition. He can just spell his way through parts of it by the help of the Swedish translation of Castrèn; but the recognized merits of this are so great that it may pass for a practical equivalent to the original. This is, in part, due to the author's skill, in part to the pre-eminent fitness of the Swedish language; which, though less vocalic than the Fin, is far more so than the German.

We may substitute an illustration for a description, and—by a comparison which the reader anticipates—say that the Kalevala reads very like Longfellow's Hiawatha; or, rather, that Hiawatha reads very like the Kalevala. When the newer poem of the two was

first published a good deal was said about the resemblance; and it may be added that something was left unsaid. That Hiawatha was in any respect a plagiarism from the Fin poem was one of the laxest of charges, though one that was made. The answer, on the other hand, that it was a collection of genuine Indian legends was anything but a sufficient one. That the Kalevala suggested the Hiawatha, no one who has read the two poems can doubt. The relation, however, between the two poems was this. It was as if, during the time of the sensation created by Macpherson's Ossian, some French poet had visited England, read Temora, and worked up some Breton legends into a poem with an Ossianic character; the form of the poem being suggested *aliunde*, the matter original; the form being from Scotland, the matter from Brittany. There would have been no plagiarism, and there would have been no absolute originality, of which the most original poets know that there is less anywhere than the world imagines.

That Lönröt is no Macpherson, and that the Kalevala is far more of an ancient Fin poem than Ossian is an old Gaelic one is admitted by his countrymen, who, notwithstanding the bias that may be given to their criticism by their nationality, are, upon the whole, the best judges. It might not be so if the Fin language were as well-known to the learned men of Europe as the Latin and Greek, or even as the Slavonic; but, as matters stand, their authority must stand for what it is worth—and something more. It has not been received without criticism. On the other hand, it must be remembered that, unlike Ossian, the Kalevala made its first appearance in the original tongue.

The Kalevala is essentially rhapsodic. Neither is it without its repetitions. Not to mention the re-appearance of certain words and certain formulæ, there is more than one narrative which seems to be (if not the *fac-simile*) the reflex of some other. The forging of the sun and moon out of silver and gold is, apparently, a recast of Ilmarinen's wife out of the same materials —or *vice versâ*.

The *inner meaning*—to use an expression which is in a fair way of passing into a hazy platitude, but one which is still convenient—will, probably, be a mystery to the end of time; and the more we look to any single principle for its solution the further

we shall be from it. The poem is *not* a uniform whole, nor is the evidence of its separate elements being referable to a single source, satisfactory. The conflict between light and darkness as a dualism of one sort, and the conflict between the Fins and the Laps as a dualism of another, may each be true to a certain extent. Neither, however, nor both combined, will cover the whole ground. Even Sampo itself, whatever we may make of it, will carry us but a short way. To the main elements of the poem there is much superadded, and of these additions the character is miscellaneous and heterogeneous. Individually, I look for some of its important constituents in the South rather than the North; among the Slavonians the Lithuanians, the Livonians, and the other occupants of the southern coast of the Baltic rather than in Lapland or even in Finland Proper.

A remark of Sjögren's upon the Zirianian mythology, or rather upon the Zirianian want of one, is, if not absolutely accurate, suggestive. It is to the effect that, instead of a vast mass of the original paganism underlying their present Christianity, as is the case of the Fins and Estonians, the Zirianians have but few remains of their ancient mythology. The fact, itself, though likely enough, is probably exaggerated, resting chiefly on our want of minute information on an obscure subject. Hence, we may reasonably expect, that when properly looked for, more will present itself than has hitherto been found. Be this as it may, the explanation suggested by Sjögren is, that in Finland Protestantism was a form of Christianity uncongenial to the Fin mind, and that, coming as it did before the Gospel had taken a thorough root in the country, it arrested rather than favoured the development of Christianity. Protestants are, of course, slow to believe that their own creed is not, at all times and under all circumstances, the best. If, however, they can get over such an obstacle as this, the suggestion under notice has a fair amount of facts to recommend it. The Fins took their Protestantism from Sweden, and, after once adopting it, held it with the resolute obstinacy in which their strength of character shows itself. But it could scarcely have come home to them as it came home to the countrymen of Luther, to the Swedes, or to the English; and it could scarcely have

appealed to their intellect in the way that it appealed to the intellect in France, Poland, or Hungary.

It is easy to see that a poem like the Kalevala, is not without its political import. In almost every part of the Continent, there is what is called a language-question; and though there is less of one in Russia than in most other countries, there is still a language-question even in Russia. In Poland, this is notoriously the fact; whilst in Gallicia it is the Russian language itself which is aggrieved, the Russians under Austria being neither willing to learn German nor ready to subordinate their own form of the Slavonic to the Polish.

In Finland, the language-question is in its rudiments. Nevertheless, it is, to some extent, a question. The Swedish is, in Finland, the language of commerce and literature; and, until the Russian conquest of Finland, it was this without a rival. It has been the policy of Russia, however, to create a native feeling, *i. e.* a feeling for Finland and the true Fins as against Sweden and the mixed Swedes. The encouragement of the Fin languages and the native philologues has been one of the means for effecting this; and it would be well if all other steps towards similar objects were in an equally praiseworthy direction. Fin philology has now risen to the dignity of a separate study; and the Fin philologues form a special school of great merit. How far they are Russians rather than Swedes is another question.

How far is the whole country Russian? In the ethnographical map of the Grand Duchy, five colours represent five divisions of the population; (1.) the Karelian; (2.) the Tavastrian; (3.) the Quain; (4.) the Swede; (5.) the Fin and Swede mixed.

Of these, the Karelians cover by far the largest area. They cover all the inland districts and extend into the Governments of Olonets and Arkangel. Viborg, too, is allotted to them; though it has been suggested that, on the southern frontier, and within the Russian Governments of Novogorod and St. Petersburgh, a slight mixture of hypothesis connects itself with the term Karelian. Though spread over a vast surface, the Karelian population is thin and scanty.

The Tavastrian division belongs to the south-western parts of the Duchy; but it touches the Baltic only between 60° 30″ and 62° N. L.—there or thereabouts. This means that between the

southern frontier and the Gulf of Finland on the one side, and between 62° and 64° on the other, there is a strip marked simply *Swedish*. The towns of Abo, Helsingfors, Nystad, Vasa, Gamla Karlaby, and Uleaborg, are included in these purely Swedish districts; at the back of which, in the southern division, a few isolated spots are marked as mixed.

The Quains are the Fins of the Swedish frontier, and it is the Fins of the Quain division that extend into Sweden. In the Russian map they are, of course, carried up to Tornea; whence they extend as far south as 62°, their area being irregular. The exact characteristics, however, of the Quains, as opposed to the Tavastrians and Karelians, like those of the Tavastrians and Karelians, have yet to be exhibited in detail, and run the gauntlet of criticism.

In a paper of Köppen's we find a comment on this map; though the terms are somewhat different. Köppen, treating the Karelians, Tavastrians, and Quains as simply Fin, gives us the following table:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Fins (pure) . . . . . | 1,102,068 |
| Swedes . . . . . | 136,612 |
| Fins and Swedes (mixed) . . . | 129,520 |
| Russians and Fins (mixed) . . | 43,752 |
| Germans . . . . . | 363 |
| | 1,412,315 |

Since the date of this notice (1842), the population has increased, so that 2,000,000 is not too high a number for the present population of the Duchy, including the Aland Isles; which, like Abo, Helsingfors, and the towns, belong, in language at least, to the Swedish portion of it.

The Germans of Finland are all in the province of Viborg; the Russians lying to the north and north-west of Lake Ladoga. It is in these Russo-Fin districts that the few exceptions to the general prevalence of Lutheranism throughout the whole of Finland are to be found: these being the occupancies of the Finlanders of the Greek Church. They are Karelian; and are simply in the same category with the Karelians of Arkangel and Olonets, *i. e.* Fins who took their Christianity from Russia, just as the Fins of the Grand Duchy took theirs from Sweden.

The Laps of Russian Lapland fall into two divisions, (1.) those

of the Duchy of Finland, and (2.) those of the Government of Arkangel. The former begin to show themselves about 65° 30″ N.L., and occupy, in conjunction with the most northern Finlanders, the four parishes of Kunsamö, Sodankylä, Utsjoki, and Kemiträsk, to which Muonioniska and Enontekis, belonging to Swedish Lapland rather than to Finland Proper, may be added. In all these districts the Fins are intrusive; but in all of them, the two populations intermarry, so that every year the blood becomes more and more mixed.

How far the Lap area originally extended southwards, is uncertain. As late as the middle of the thirteenth century it is believed to have reached the centre of the Grand Duchy. If this were the case, it may at an earlier period have reached the Gulf of Finland. Whether it ever stretched so far towards the east as to have run round the southern extremity of the White Sea and have touched or even crossed the Dwina is a still more complex question. It was invaded, however, from the earliest times and on all quarters—probably by the Zirianians or Permians; certainly by the Karelian Fins, on the east; certainly by the Quain Fins on the west. In the wake of the Karelians came the Russians; with the Quains the Swedes. With the Russians came the Christianity of the Greek, with the Swedes the Christianity of the Latin, Church: and it was the parts about Tornea that the two influences met.

Of an imperfect Christianity sporadically introduced by the Karelians, of Russian and Greek origin, there are very early traces. The great time, however, for the chief Russian missionaries was the sixteenth century. Then it was that the first monastery in Russian Lapland was founded by Trifon, a monk from Novogorod, of which the small town of Kola on the very edge of the Arctic Ocean was the seat.

## CHAPTER XIX.

The Permians and Zirianians.—The Votiaks.—The Volga Fins.—The Tsherimis.—The Mordvins.—The Tshuvash.—The Biscrmans.

THE *Permians* are the aborigines of the Government of Perm; the Zirianians of that of Vologda. Such, at least, is the rough view of them; though their limits are not exactly defined in the statement. There are Permians and Zirianians beyond these two Governments, and there are within the two Governments populations other than Permian and Zirianian.

The distinction, too, is political rather than ethnological; since the difference between the two populations is slight; neither do they themselves recognize it. They call themselves *Komimurt:* and speak dialects of the same language, which, though separated from the true Fin by the intrusion of the Russian, is closely allied to it—or, at least, is closer to it than are the Vogul, the Ostiak, the Samoyed, and the Lap.

The Permians have long been Christianized, and differ from the Russians much as a Welshman differs from an Englishman; in other words, their civilization is the same. They build and dress after the Russian fashion, work steadily at their mines, and are little more than the Fins of the far east. At the same time, they have fallen-off in numbers.

The *Zirianians* are somewhat less industrial than the Permians, being the occupants of the forest rather than a mining district. Still, in the south they are greatly Russianized. Beyond, however, the tree-line their character changes and their habits are more unsettled. Even in the south, they are hunters. In the parts about Obdorsk (for their area reaches the Arctic Sea) they meet the Ostiaks and the Samoyeds; and in the parts about Ishim there is a long line of Samoyed frontier, of which a considerable part is a debateable land. The fol-

lowing conversations between Castrèn and certain optimist Zirianians illustrate the views of these outlying members of the more civilized divisions of the Fin family. "I believe in God—" said the interlocutor — "and I believe that nothing is done without his leave. The Zirianians have gotten many of the Samoyed reindeer: but it is by the will of God. The Devil has something to do with it; for the Devil has a hand in everything. You who are a Tartar do not believe this; but so it is. God made the earth in six days: but the Devil mixed poison with the juices of the plants, and put snakes in the grass. He put, too, the pike amongst the fishes. But God protected the fishes, and marked their heads with the sign of the cross. What God wills we must do. We have gotten the herds of the Samoyeds: but for the Samoyeds we have done great things. Before we came they offered sacrifices to trees, and knew no more than dogs and stone-foxes. We have taught them how to take fishes and hunt with guns. We were sent as teachers. It has pleased God to give us their herds, and they are our servants. When they become good Christians, God, in his mercy, will give them back their reindeer, and all will go well with them."

Another view was—that the ways of men are many: here and everywhere. There are bad men among the Zirianians, and good men among the Samoyeds. The bad Zirianians rob the good Samoyeds. But this is for their good. It is we who have the most to complain of. The wrongs to the Samoyeds were done long ago. They, now, break into our grounds and steal our reindeer. When they are all driven off the tundra there will be a good time.

Another. It is good for the Samoyeds that we take their reindeer. We make shammy leather, sell it to the Russians, and buy meal and wares. We make the most of the reindeer, and it is right that we should have them.

All this tells us that we have left the land of the horse and cow. In a Zirianian caravan, with which Castrèn travelled, there were one hundred and fifty sledges; in ten divisions of fifteen each. Each sledge had two reindeer, and was attached to the one before by a long rope; and each division had a man at the head in a light sledge drawn by three or four reindeer.

The early history of the Permians has long commanded attention.

It is well-known that in one of the earliest Arctic traders we have a notice of them. It is contained in the narrative of Other, which was taken and recorded by King Alfred; and which has come down to us in Alfred's own Anglo-Saxon. Other narratives give us the first account of Biarmaland; which, like Finmark or Norwegian Lapland, was the occupancy of a population of Fin blood; but a population belonging to a more civilized division of the stock. Word for word *Biarmaland* is *Permia*. That these Permians and the Zirianians are exactly the descendants of the old Biarmalanders (notwithstanding the identity of name) is not quite certain. The presumption is in favour of their being so. At the same time many competent authorities look upon them as Proper Fins—Fins akin to those of the Government of Olonets and Arkangel, who, in the time of Alfred, had extended themselves to the Dwina and its mouth. Among these Biarmalanders, however, Other was afraid to trust himself; so that he did not land. Some of them, however, came aboard his ship, and held converse with them. Their language was sufficiently like that of the Fins to be understood.

The original extent of the Komimurt area has been investigated by Sjögren. In all inquiries of this kind the first step is an easy one. Take up a map, and pick out the local names which are other than Russian: they will be Ugrian, numerous or scanty—according to the particular district under notice. Then begin the difficulties. Are they Fin Proper, or Lap? Are they Estonian, or Votiak? Are they Zirianian, or only referable to some form of speech belonging to the class in which the Zirianian is contained? *Oportet discentem credere;* in pursuance to which I give the approximate boundaries of the old Komimurt area as I find them. Northwards they approached to the Arctic Circle, probably by encroachment upon the Laplanders and Samoyeds. Eastwards they reached the Obi; much of the country which now belongs to the Voguls, having, originally, been Komimurt. Due south, the *situs* appears to have been much as it is at present, the exact details between the Permian and Votiak frontiers being unimportant. For the south-west, on the other hand, they are full of interest. In the Governments of Kostroma, Vladimir, Yaroslav, and (?) Tver, Sjögren finds traces of the original occupancy having been Komimurt; and, what is of more interest still, he suggests that Moscow was Komimurt also; Moscow, which, according to

Zirianian account, became Russian in the following manner. A chief got leave to take as much land as he could compass with a cow's hide—we know the rest. It is the old, old story of Dido and the Numidians, of Hengist and the Britons, of the Saxons and the Thuringians, and, doubtless, of many others besides. It is noticed here, because it applies to Moscow, and because it is Zirianian.

The little town of Ustvymsk in the circle of Yarensk, with about 200 houses, is the centre to which we must trace the Christianity of Permia and Ziriania: Utsvymsk the small and shrunken metropolis of the great Russian missionary Saint Stephanus. Here he is believed to have reduced the Permian language to writing, and, upon the Old Slavonic as a basis, to have formed the Permian alphabet. Of this, two or three imperfect representatives are extant. Of the matter which it embodied we have less. Three short inscriptions on stone and a fragment of fourteen letters in MS. are all that has yet been found—found, but scarcely decyphered and translated: indeed one of the inscriptions has been destroyed by fire.

A fragment of a translation of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom in Slavonic characters, represents the literature; the fate of the remainder being doubtful. Sanguine students indulge in the hope that, some day or other, it may be found. The credulous fear that it has been burnt, whilst the sceptical suggest that its original importance may have been exaggerated.

In the Government of Viatka, the *Votiaks* (or as they call themselves the Udmurt) stand in the same relation to the soil as the Permians do to that of Permia. And to the Permians they are near congeners; though I doubt whether the two languages are mutually intelligible. Like the Zirianians, they live in clearings of the forest: keep themselves more free from Russian intermixture than the other Ugrians: retain much of their original paganism—especially in the northern portion of their area. On the south they come in contact with the Bashkirs, and have, in a few instances, adopted Mahometanism. They are said to approach the true Fins very closely, both in temperament and in physical conformation.

A Votiak village contains from twenty to forty houses. It covers a clearance in the forest, the wood being left in its natural condition on the boundary. This isolates the Votiak villages, so

that they lie as the old German ones did—with wastes and woodlands between them. When the ground of a settlement has become exhausted by cropping, the occupants leave it and migrate elsewhere, sometimes making the old place over to other settlers. The house is of wood, scarcely different from that of the Russians; or rather the Russian house is like the Votiak—the style of building being, in all probability, indigenous. The men dress like the Russians, the women only preserving the old costume. The material for their cap is the white bark of the birch-tree, with a band of blue linen round it, and adorned in the front with silver ornaments—often coins. This fashion we shall find amongst the Tshuvashes—the fashion, I mean, of using pieces of money as decorations. Then there are streamers of white linen flowing and floating over the back and shoulders, with red fringes and embroidery along the borders. This head-dress is the *aishon*. If a stranger sleep in the house, the *aishon* will be worn all night as well as all day, since it is decorous to keep the head covered, indecorous to let down the hair. The shirts and shifts, too, are more or less embroidered.

The tribunal organization, so characteristic of the Turk stock, appears in a modified form amongst the Votiaks, who are specially stated to retain their original division into tribes and families, and to give the names of these to their villages. Their noble families, however, are, for the most part, extinct.

The three populations that now follow live on the drainage of the Volga. All occupy, more or less, portions of the Governments of Kazan. All come in contact with a Tartar population.

The first two are unequivocally Ugrian in language—whatever they may be in blood. The Tshuvash language, on the other hand, is held by some to be more Turk than Fin.

The most northern of these are the *Tscherimis*, amounting

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Government of Viatka to . . . | 75,450 |
| ——————— Kazan . . . . | 71,375 |
| ——————— Permia . . . | 7938 |
| ——————— Nizhnigorod . . | 4330 |
| ——————— Kostroma . . . | 3357 |
| ——————— Orenburg . . . | 2626 |
| | 165,076 |

Some of them are pure pagans; the majority being but imperfect and approximate Christians; retaining, under the surface of their later creed, most of the essentials of their original heathendom.

The *Tsherimis* have been more nomadic than they are at present; hunters, perhaps, rather than herdsmen, during the earliest period of their history. At present, however, they are agricultural, settled, and more or less industrial. Their villages are said to be smaller than those of the Votiaks and Tshuvash, and perhaps they are more sequestered. At the same time they are regular villages, with the village organization of a head-man or elder for the settlement of disputes and for their simple legislation. There are houses, too, which approach the Russian standard of comfort; with property on the part of the owners to match.

The great Votiak festival was that of the *Keremet;* and the *Keremet* also is the great Tsherimis one. It is at the time of the *Keremet* that there are meetings under the ordinance of a priest in the holier parts of the forest, when offerings of animals are made to the bad, of flowers to the good, demons. The following is a Tsherimis hymn:—

1. May God give health and happiness to him who offers a sacrifice!
2. To the children who come into the world, give, O Yuma, plenty of good things—gold, bread, cattle, and bees!
3. During the new year, make our bees to swarm and give much honey.
4. Bless our chase after birds and after beasts.
5. Give us our fill of gold and silver.
6. Make us, O Yuma, masters of all the treasures buried in the earth, all over the world!
7. Grant that, in our bargains, we may make three times the value of our goods.
8. Enable us to pay our tribute.
9. Grant that, at the beginning of the spring, our three sorts of cattle may find their ways back by three different paths, and that we may keep them from bears, from wolves, and from robbers.
10. Make our cows with calf.
11. Make our thin kine fatten for the good of our children.
12. Enable us with one hand to sell our barren cows, and with the other to take the money.
13. Send us, O Yuma, a true and trusty friend!
14. When we travel far, preserve us, O Yuma, from bad men, from sickness, from fools, from bad judges, and from lying tongues!
15. As the hop grows, and throws out his scent, so, O Yuma, grant that we may wax strong through goodness, and smell sweet from reason!

16. As the wax sparkles in burning, so let us, O Yuma, live in joy and health.

17. Let our existence be as calm and regular as the cells of a honeycomb.

18. Grant, O Yuma, that he who asks may obtain the object of his prayer!

When this prayer is finished, the head, heart, lungs, and liver are offered up to the deity to whom it is addressed; another prayer being said by the officiating minister alone. Then they eat and pray again. This is kept on for three days. When all is over, the bones, entrails, and such parts of the sacrifices as have not been consumed, are burnt, the fire having never been allowed to go out during the whole festival.

Though he delights in the flesh of the horse, the Tsherimis abominates that of the hog; and this even where his habits are unwarped by any influence from his Tartar neighbours.

The next name makes its first appearance in Jornandes; who mentions the nation of the *Mordvins* as one of the tributaries to the great Hermanric. In Porphyrogeneta their land is called Mordia. It lay one day's journey from Russia; ten from the country of the Petshinegs. The name again appears in Nestor.

In 1104, Yaroslav Swiatieslavitsh attacked the Mordvins, and was repulsed. Somewhat later a portion of them was reduced.

Containing, as it did, some of the most fertile tracts in Russia, the Mordvin country, *nimium vicina Cremonæ*, was one of the first which came under the dominion of the Mongols; and when the Mongol Empire was broken up, the whole, or nearly the whole of it, became comprised in the Khanate of Kazan. When this became Russian, the Mordvins became Russian also: though, during the time of the Khans, they had, more than once, joined the Tsherimis and the Tartars in their contests against their encroaching neighbours: their chief weapon being the bow. They used it with the usual skill of nomads and huntsmen. But this is a character which has long been laid aside. The Russians themselves are no better agriculturists than the present Mordvins: who, like their neighbours, the Bashkirs, are, also, great bee-masters. The Russians themselves, except in a few districts where the original paganism still keeps its ground, are no better Christians. Indeed, except that there is no mining, and no nautical industry (deficiencies arising from the physical condition of their country, rather than from any want of aptitude on the part of the occupants), the present civilization of the Mordvins is on the high level of that of the Permians and the

Finlanders. The Russian language is generally understood; though the Mordvin is the more familiar one. Lastly, their numbers appear to be on the increase. The details in 1844 run thus:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Penza . . . . | 106,025 |
| ——— | Simbirsk . . . | 98,968 |
| ——— | Saratov . . . | 78,060 |
| ——— | Samar . . . . | 74,910 |
| ——— | Nizhnigorod . . | 53,382 |
| ——— | Tambov . . . | 48,491 |
| ——— | Kazan . . . | 14,867 |
| ——— | Orenburg . . . | 5,200 |
| ——— | Tauris . . . . | 340 |
| ——— | Astrakan . . . | 48 |
| | | 480,241 |

In Tauris and Astrakan they are recent immigrants.

They fall into three divisions, the Ersad (? Ἀορσοι), the Moksha, and the Karatai; this last being, by far, the smallest.

The *Tshuvash*, if they differ from the Tartars in nothing else, differ in creed; being Christians rather than Mahometans. They amount

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Kazan | to | 300,091 |
| ——— | Simbirsk | — | 84,714 |
| ——— | Samar | — | 29,926 |
| ——— | Orenburg | — | 8,352 |
| ——— | Saratov | — | 6,852 |
| ——— | Viatka | — | 17 |
| | | | 429,952 |

and are an increasing population. In Kazan, where they are the most numerous, their number nearly equals that of the Tartars; who amount to about 308,574. The names by which they designate themselves are Vereyal, Khirdeyal, and Vyres. The Tsherimis call them *Kurkmari* or *Hill-men*, the Mordvins *Wiedke*. *Tshuvash*, itself, I take for a Tartar word.

That the Tshuvash are Christians *rather* than Mahometans has just been stated—and it is all that can well be said.

That their Christianity is nominal, and that it is dashed not only with pagan but with Mahometan elements, is made evident by the following short sketch of their Pantheon.

*Süldi Torà* is the *God above;* a kind God who lives in the sky, which he leaves only when he visits the earth on Fridays: when he descends to see whether any one breaks that day of rest by working. He has as many names as functions. One of them is *Syuda-tuvny Torà*, or the *God who makes Light:* another, *Tshon-shoradan Torà*, or the *Soul-maker;* another, *Sir-shu-askshe*, or the *Father of Land and Water;* another, *Mun Torà*, or the *Great God;* another, *Mun Yra Torà*, or the *Great Good God.* He has a mother, a wife, children, and several subordinates: such as *Toryn-uvynsthe-süräп*, or the *Forerunner; Alyk ozhan*, the *Door-shutter, Pülüks*, the *Messenger:* the last being the term for an *Angel.*

*Asla-adi Tora*, is the *Grandfather; Kebe*, the *Judge; Pigamber*, the *Hearth-God; Pereget*, the *Giver of Wealth* or *Luck. Khvely Tora* is the *Sun God; Oikh Tora*, the *Moon God;* and *Sily Tora*, the *Wind God.*

Of the Terrestrial Deities, the chief are *Syol Tora*, the *Way God; Kily Tóra*, the *House God; Kardy Tóra*, the *Barn God; Wurman Tóra*, the *Wood God*, and *Sirdi Patsha*, the *Lord of the Earth.*

In *Shoitan*, or *Satan*, and *Keremet Esrel*, the *Angel of Death*, we see Turk elements; as (indeed) we see them in *Patsha*= *Pasha.* But *Shoitan* is, to a great extent, superseded by *Keremet;* the Tshuvash analogue of the Jewish Satan in his character of Fallen Angel. Keremet was, originally, a being of equal power, knowledge, and beneficence, whose delight it was to traverse the world below, and to confer blessings on mankind. He would be doing this at the present time, had not Shoitan instigated some wicked men to murder him. This they did: and, having burnt his body, they gave the ashes to the winds. But the winds let them fall on the ground, and wherever they fell up sprung trees: and with these trees Keremet came to life again—but with a new and a bad disposition. He was, now, as malicious and mischievous, as he had once been kind and gentle. At first he haunted the woods; but, when the woods decreased, he took the clearings and the villages; so that, now, every village has its Keremet.

*Yirikh* is the god who causes the chief bodily ailments; and when these develope themselves it is the Tshuvash habit to have recourse to the conjuror rather than the physician. A private offering, in a comparatively quiet manner, suffices for their cure. The great festivals, however, at the beginning and at the end of harvest are more imposing. It is hard, however, for a stranger to observe them. The following is one of the few accounts we have of them.

It was near the village of Iseneva, on the side of a forest of oak-trees, that Lĕpechiu, towards the end of the last century, when the superstitions of the Tshuvash were much more vigorous than at present, witnessed a Keremet sacrifice. It began as early as nine in the morning, and was unfinished at four in the afternoon, when his patience gave way, and he left the *Yonse*—for that is the name of the Seer, Wizard, Medicine-man, or Shaman in these parts—still muttering invocations and exorcisms. When he reached the appointed spot there was a kettle on the fire; four old men, who proved to be the chief officiators; and a great number of oxen, sheep, and cocks and hens. Whilst the by-standers hung their heads in respectful silence, the four old men, having prayed to Tora, and having waited until a row of buckets was filled with water, submitted the cattle and poultry to an ordeal by water. They dashed it on them suddenly, and noted such as ran away startled, and such as stood stupidly quiet. The latter they spared; inasmuch as it was held that animals of this temper were not received favourably by Tora. The others, which were huddled together in a heap, were then slaughtered; and their flesh boiled. But the bones, head, and bowels, were put by in rush baskets for burning. This took place after the feast on the flesh was over, when the ashes were given to the winds. As for the feathers of the birds—they are sown broadcast over the fields.

At the richer sacrifices, gold and silver coins are added to the offerings of the poultry and cattle. The modern Tshuvashes replace them by brass and copper orcs. They also substitute little images for the sheep and oxen.

The Tshuvash Hades is a re-production of the world of our present state; and, when a man dies, his friends put tobacco pipes, and drams in his grave, celebrating (not without festivities) the anniversary of his death.

1.

A hundred and sixty beams I carried:
A room I built.
Twelve windows I made in it;
Out of two windows I looked myself.
At ten windows, sit ten young maidens.
The first time they looked out,
The second time they laughed.
I went from village to village,
Never found a grown-up maiden.
In one village I saw a maiden,
But I had no money:
"Come with me," I would have said
But I had not the heart to say it.

2.

I went from wood to wood,
But found no cherries:
I went from village to village,
But found no maidens.
I would eat the cherries;
They are a black morsel:
Good to eat with bread.
I would eat other berries,
They are a red morsel;
Good to eat with bread.
I would take the maiden,
The flaxen-haired maiden.
With her to live were sweet.

3.

I went and went along the way;
I came to a thick wood.
I sought out the nut-tree;
Milk came out of it.
Without meat I eat no bread.
I sought the elm;
A bee came out of it.
Out of the bee came honey;
Without honey I eat no bread.
I went and went along the way;
I came into the village.
The dogs of the village barked.
I cast my eye on a flaxen-haired maiden;
I wished to take her with me:
My father gave me no money:
The priest gave me no writing.

4.

The girls of our town—
The girls of our town—
Jump over the hedge like wolves
Over the hedge like wolves,

The girls of other towns—
The girls of other towns
Creep under the hedge like mice—
Under the hedge like mice.
The girls of our town—
The girls of our town,
They drive with two horses—
Drive with two horses.
The girls of other towns—
The girls of other towns,
They drive with two sows—
Drive with two sows.

5.

My father gave me a black horse:
Let me saddle him, thought I to myself.
The horse became an oak-tree.
My father gave me a white cow:
Let me milk it, thought I to myself.
The cow became a birch-tree.
My father gave me a red sheep:
Let me shear it, thought I to myself.
The sheep became a red stump.
My father gave me a silken girdle:
Let me bind it on, thought I to myself.
The girdle became a rush.
My father gave me a silken kerchief:
Let me put it in my girdle, thought I to myself.
The kerchief became a horn-beam leaf.

6.

On the road lies my field;
It bears no corn:
More's the pity.
I have a bay horse;
He won't stay on the road:
More's the pity.
I have a still stupid wife;
She has nothing to say:
More's the pity.

7.

I would walk along the road to the country,
But was afraid of the Russians.
I would walk along the road to the village,
But was afraid of the thieves.
I would walk along the road to the fields,
But was afraid of the wind.
I would walk through the wood,
But was afraid of bears and the wolves.
I would walk to the village,
But was afraid of the dogs.

I would walk to the corner of the village,
But was afraid of the young maids.

8.

Ah! my father! ah! my mother!
I wish I were a goose,
I would fly to my own village.
Were I the gate of the village,
And the villagers came;
I would open and shut
Of my own free will.
Were I the gate of a palace,
And my father and mother came;
I would open and shut
Of my own free will.
The moon shines over the land;
The land is our march.
The stars rise over the way;
The way is our road.
The snow-flakes fall;
So falls our hair.
The rain runs down;
So run our tears.
Lumps of ice float down the Volga;
So float our bodies.
On the Anger stands an old oak;
That's my father.
On the Anger stands an old birch;
That's my mother.

9.

My father is woodman;
My mother is breadmaker;
My eldest brother is headborough;
My next is post-boy;
My youngest cooper;
My eldest brother's wife is singer;
My next brother's wife is dancer;
My youngest brother's wife is harper
I, myself, am a spooner.

Another name still stands over for a short notice—that of the *Biserman* or *Bisermans*. All I know of them is, that they amount to about 4500 individuals in the Government of Viatka, that they are Ugrians in blood, and (I believe) language; but that they are Mahometans in creed—*Biserman* being, word for word, *Mussulman*. They are, perhaps, neither more nor less than Votiak converts of some standing.

## CHAPTER XX.

Russian Lapland.—The Murmanzi, or Murmans.—Legends.

THE *Laps* of Russia are separated from those of Sweden and Norway by their creed and by their dialect—since they are Christians of the Greek Church, and since their language, though intelligible both in Lapmark and Finmark, has decided peculiarities. In other respects they are the same; indeed, on the frontiers, the three graduate into each other.

The division into the Fishing Laps and the Reindeer Laps is, to a great extent, real; though there are many individuals who both take fish and breed reindeer. The Reindeer Laps however, who have simply become poor by losing their deer, are no more a separate class than the paupers of England or France.

Not, at least, in the first instance: though poverty with them as with others, in the course of time, both modifies habits and impairs energy. They are like the Hottentots who have lost their herds, and they would be Bushmen if there was a bush to which they could betake themselves.

There is a considerable mixture of blood in Russian Lapland—Karelian, Kwæn, and Russian elements being common.

A population of periodical migrants now claims notice—that of the *Murmanzi*, as the Russians call them, but who may, in English, be called Murmans.

They are a mixed class of men; some being Russians, some Karelians, some Laps. They collect in the parts about Onega and Kem and make their way to Rasnavolok: which lies a few miles to the south of Kola. They, then, divide themselves into two divisions—one for the west, the other for the east. The western part fishes from Kola to the Norwegian boundary, where they come in contact with the men from Norland and Finmark. I find in a work written some years before that of my present au-

thority, Castrèn, that they are formidable competitors to the Norwegians: being equally skilful, and more self-denying. The eastern division fishes between Kola and Swiatoi Noss.

Some of the Murmans are capitalists in a small way; some hired labourers. The roughness of their justice may be measured by the following extracts from their code of laws.

1. He who brings no wood to the fire shall sit away from the fire.

2. He who makes bread-soup shall give way to him who makes fish-soup.

3. The woman shall give way to the man.

4. The child shall give way to the woman.

5. The hired labourer shall give way to the master.

6. The men of the house and the hired labourers shall take their seats according as they put a kettle on the fire.

That an annual inroad like that of the Murmans should influence the habits and language of the populations through which they pass is only what we expect: so that it is no wonder that we find numerous Russian and Karelian words in the Lap of the district. Neither is it wonderful that quarrels should arise. Hence, more than one locality takes its name from a fight—*e. g. Rütasaari,* or *Battle Island*; and *Torajärwi,* or *Battle Lake.* I should add that another interpretation has been given to this by better authorities than myself; and that the word meaning *Battle* has been supposed to have originated out of a conflict between the Laps and the intrusive Fins.

Of legend in the Lap district there is no lack. The first two of the following are noticed from the fact of their being neither more nor less than the tale of Ulysses and Polyp emus and of William Tell, respectively, as they appear on the very confines of the Arctic Circle.

(1.)

There was once a Karelian who had been taken by a giant, and was kept in a castle. The giant had only one eye: but he had flocks and herds. The night came, and the giant fell asleep. The Karelian put out his eye. The giant, who now could no longer see, sat at the door, and felt everything that went out. He had a great many sheep in the court-yard. The Karelian got under the belly of one of them, and escaped.

(2.)

There was a band of Karelians, and they set upon the village of Alajärvi, which they plundered. There was one old man whom they most particularly

wished to punish. His son, who was only twelve years old, followed them, and threatened to shoot anyone who hurt his father. They then said that he should be set free on this condition: the son was to stand at one side, the father on the other side, of the river; an apple was to be laid on the father's head, and the son was to split it with an arrow. The father said, "Raise one hand; sink the other; for the water of the lake will draw the arrow." So he shot and split the apple.

The next has a theological aspect. A long time ago, there lived a Tadibi, whose name was Urier. He was a Tadibi of the Tadibis; and the wisest of all wise men. He was a soothsayer of soothsayers. There had been no such master of the craft since or before. If any man lost a reindeer, who but Urier did he seek? He had many reindeer of his own; and had visited many countries. But he grew old, and perceived that all was vanity, and that the world was growing worse and worse. "The reindeer fall-off in numbers. The moss dies, or ceases to grow. The game decreases. There is nothing but avarice and deceit. I will live no longer in this wicked world: but will go up to heaven." So he told his two wives to get things ready for a journey, and to harness his reindeer. But he ordered that everything should be new: and that no single piece of old stuff was to be either used or packed-up. So they got themselves ready for the journey; and harnessed the reindeer to a sledge. When all was prepared he mounted aloft, and drove through the air up into the sky. There were four male reindeer in each sledge—one sledge for Urier, one for his wives who followed. They had scarcely got half-way, when Urier's reindeer fell sick and could go no further. There was no need to tell him what had been done. He knew it. His second wife had not obeyed his orders, but had put the band of an old jacket in the harness. She had rather live on earth with her children, than go to heaven with her husband. So he let her go down. But the other went to heaven with him.

This is one version. Another carries both of the wives to heaven; whence, after a time, Urier sends down a son to teach the Samoyeds on earth.

Again—a long time ago, there was an English Viking, and he used to sail every year to the Murman coast to take tribute. If no tribute were paid, he challenged the best fighting-man to single combat. He was stout, bold, and so skilful in all sorts of arms, that no one was able to conquer him, and the tribute was

paid, year by year, for a long time. One summer, however, he came to the coast, and, as was his wont, asked for tribute. There was no one who dared meet him: except a small, weak man, who had never borne arms, and was so useless as a fighting-man, that he was made to cook the victuals. So the English Viking came and asked for tribute; or, else, for a man who would fight him hand to hand. The poor, weak cook was the only one who dared to do so. He fought against him and won the battle: since which time no more tribute has been paid to any English Viking.

The Lap legends, according to Castrèn, are by no means of home growth. On the contrary, many are Russian. At any rate, they are, comparatively speaking, few and fragmentary, and are much less akin to those of Finland than are the legends and superstitions of Estonia.

The Laps of Russian Lapland amount to about 1000.

## CHAPTER XXI.

The Voguls and Ostiaks.—The Samoyeds.—Their Legends and Poetry.—The Yeniscians and Yukahiri.

THE *Voguls* are rude hunters, spread over a vast district, along the ridge of the Urals, amounting to about 900 in the Government of Perm, and to about 5000 in that of Tobolsk.

The Voguls, compared with any of the tribes that lie south of them, are a comfortless, undersized, ill-developed population; who, if they contrast favourably with the Lap and Samoyed, show to a disadvantage by the side of the Finlander or the Zirianian. Their villages are small, and the size of the village gives a fair measure of the well-being of the population that occupies it. From four to eight cabins constitute a Vogul one, and these lie from ten to fifteen miles apart: the forest lying between—with few, or no, clearings. Game is the chief sustenance; and for the production of it the forest has to be kept wild. To this extent the Voguls are a hunter population; for it is only in the southern parts of their area that the signs of settled life are to be found.

A little tillage and a little cattle appear as we approach the Bashkir frontier, the Bashkir habits being partially adopted. The Bashkir, however, is, himself, but half agricultural.

The winter-hut of the Vogul is small, close, and smoky; the summer-cabin is made of the boughs and rind of the birch-tree. These are raised or pulled down, as the necessities of the chase require; as one locality must be exchanged for another.

The Vogul hunts on foot. He has no pastures for horses; and the boggy, woody tracts under his occupancy are ill adapted for the use of them. Even the dog is a rare companion. On the other hand, a few cows may constitute the property of one of the wealthier proprietors. The elk, however, is the chief beast for sustenance, and the sable for trade. The reindeer is less abundant; and it is in the skin of the elk, amongst ruminants, that their tribute of peltry is paid. The flesh is dried, not salted—cut into strips and dried in the open air, so that a kind of pemmican is made of it.

The Vogul uses the gun as well as the bow; and he is skilful in the contrivance of traps and pitfalls. He fishes, too, as well as hunts. For hunting, his best month is November; when the animals have their winter fur about them. Obdorsk, a factory rather than a town, is the Vogul's trading-town. Thither he resorts with his skins, berries, and such like small articles of barter.

Pallas (with, I believe, other observers) speaks to the fact of the Voguls wholly dispensing with the use of salt. Berries they have, but no vegetables. They chew the turpentine of the larch; but they use no salt, and enjoy good health notwithstanding. They are said to be healthy, but neither long-lived nor strong; and of all the Ugrians of the forest districts they have a physiognomy that most approaches the typical Mongol.

Success in hunting, is the chief object of the Vogul's prayers. To this end, the carved image of the god takes the form of the beast under pursuit, being sable-shaped, elk-shaped, or bear-shaped, according as the bear, the elk, or the sable is the more especial object.

Near a hunting-lodge on the Sosva is the rude image of an elk, carved by an unknown hand out of stone, an image of some antiquity. This the Voguls visit from considerable distances, and invoke its favour during their expeditions. Müller says that it is "rough-hewn out of stone." The analogy, however, of the Lap mythology makes it probable that it is a natural piece of rock, whereof the shape is elk-like enough to suggest the comparison. However this may be, offerings are made to it by its visitors.

Other figures are in the human form, and of these some are of metal, iron or copper. It is in certain holy places that they are to be found, fixed in the clefts of a rock or tree; raised on poles stuck in the ground—the ground being the most elevated spot about. On one of the numerous streams called *Shatanka* (*Satan's river*) is a holy cavern, on the floor of which are found bones, the remains of Vogul offerings—bones and rings of Russian workmanship, but of Vogul consecration.

The Torom Saktaag bear a name allied to the name for priest, which is *Sakta*-taba. *Torom*, on the other hand, is the name of a god whose residence is in the sun or moon, a god whose name appears in all, or nearly all, of the other Ugrian mythologies. *Yelbola* is the name of the feast of *Torom*; probably the same

word as the Finlandish *Yumala*, and the Lap *Yubmel*—and with the feast of Yelbola the Vogul year begins.

The *Ostiaks* of the Obi, the *true* Ostiaks (for the Samoyeds bear the name wrongly), are the nearest congeners of the Voguls; but are a much more important division of the Ugrian class. They extend along the Irtish and Obi from 56° to 67° N. L., Surgut, and Beresov being the chief towns of the true Ostiak district. Narym is only on the Ostiak frontier, and has Tartars and Samoyeds as well as Ostiaks in its neighbourhood: whilst Obdorsk is surrounded by Ostiaks, Samoyeds, and Zirianians. In 1838 the number of the Ostiaks was about 19,000.

That the division into tribes and sub-tribes prevails amongst the Ostiaks, as it did among the Samoyeds, and as it does with most (perhaps all) of the allied populations, is evident from the following list of the southern section of them.

*The Dyenshtshitovski Division.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Turtas-mir . . . . . | Turtass volost . . . . | 117 |
| 2. | Nasym-mir . . . . . | Nasym volost . . . . | 302 |
| 3. | Num-mir . . . . . | Upper Dyemyan volost . | 286 |
| 4. | Tyapar-mir . . . . . | Narym volost . . . . | 443 |
| 5. | Wodzh-itpa-mir . . . . | Tarkhan volost . . . | 701 |
| 6. | Khunda-mir . . . . . | Lesser Konda volost . . | 828 |
| 7. | Terek-mir, or Utkhar-mir | Tyemlashtshev volost . | 305 |
| | | | 2,982 |

*The Surgut Division.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | As mir . . . . . | Selyarov volost . . . . | 134 |
| 2. | Sodom-mir . . . . . | Salym volost . . . . | 326 |
| 3. | Pyng-mir . . . . . | Pym volost . . . . . | 166 |
| 4. | As-torm-yogan-mir . . . | Podgorodnaya volost . . | 362 |
| 5. | Entl-yogan-mir . . . . | Great Yugan volost . . | 592 |
| 6. | Ai-yogan-mir . . . . | Little Yugan volost . . | 286 |
| 7. | Torm-yogan-mir . . . | Tri Yugan volost . . . | 297 |
| 8. | Agan-mir . . . . . | Agan volost . . . . | 96 |
| 9. | Vakh-mir . . . . . | Vakh volost . . . . | 706 |
| 10. | Lung-pugotl-mir . . . | Lumpokolsk volost . . | 808 |
| 11. | Saltik-mir . . . . . | Saltikovsk volost . . . | 359 |
| 12. | Pirtyi-mir . . . . . | Pirtshinsk volost . . . | 360 |
| | | | 4,494 |

| | |
|---|---|
| *The Kondin Division.* | |
| 1. Kodskiye Gorodki volost . . . | 2,628 |
| 2. Podgoronaya volost . . . . . | 328 |
| 3. Sosva volost . . . . . | 968 |
| 4. Lyapin volost . . . . . | 1,585 |
| 5. Kasym volost . . . . . | 1,274 |
| | 6,853 |
| *The Obdorsk Division.* | |
| 1. Kunovat volost . . . . . | 1,630 |
| 2. Obdorsk volost . . . . . | 2,700 |
| | 4,330 |

Broken and depressed as they are at the present time, the Voguls and Ostiaks have, apparently, had a history of some magnitude—a history and a nationality. All the researches concerning their origin point one way. All the researches upon their ethnology give them an honourable connection.

Allied to each other they have for their nearest kinsmen the Magyars of Hungary, like whom they seem to have cut their way to their present occupancies. As the Hungarians are traced northwards, the Voguls and Ostiaks are brought from the south, and it was at the expense of the nations on the way that they fixed themselves where they now are.

A few of their wars are known even in their main details. Thus, it was the Komimurt that the Voguls dispossessed; the Komimurt being, themselves, a conquering population. Of their encroachments upon the Samoyeds, as a measure of their prowess, less can be said to their credit. For their wars between one another there is plenty of miserable detail.

Of the Voguls and the Ostiaks each represents a broken nation; and each, perhaps, a degenerate one. The physical conditions of their country are worse than they were at first; and there is no proof that they have made up for the loss by an increased civilization.

The very reverse of this has befallen the Magyars. They outnumber all the other Ugrians put together They are European in civilization, and formidable from the strength and intensity of their nationality. Yet, thirty generations ago, there was little

to choose between ancestors of the Esterhazys and Szhechenyis, and the ancestors of the present Turtasmir elders. The Obi, however, was the lot of one branch, the Danube and the Teiss of the other. The one came in contact with the Samoyeds and Zirianians, the other with the Germans and Poles.

The *Samoyeds* of the north-western division, or the Samoyeds of Europe, are called the *Yurak* Samoyeds by the Russians; by themselves *Kasova* (*Hasowaio*), or *Nyenets* = *men*. They extend into Asia as far as the Tas.

In Asia, those of the extreme East, between the Lower Yenisey and the Chatunga are called the *Avam*, or *Avamski* Samoyeds.

The Samoyeds of the Obi are improperly called *Ostiaks*. They are chiefly found on the Obi and its feeders, on the Tshulim, on the Ket, and even as far south as the Tym and the parts about Narym.

The *Mokasi*, on the Tas, and the *Karasin* on the Lower Yenisey are also Samoyeds—in language, if not in blood.

In the west, however, the Samoyed country begins in the parts about Mezen; and at Mezen European civilization ends. The town is small and insignificant. Still it is a Russian town, and has a tincture of Russian civilization. However, in the market-place and the street you meet with Samoyeds; who are brought thither by the love of brandy; for brandy is the curse of all the Samoyeds of the western portion of the area. Castrèn wanted a teacher; a man who could teach him his language. But no one who knew it would be paid in anything but brandy, and most of them were drunk already. There was one man whose sobriety could be relied on. He was sent from a distance, and with great pains. He came; and was drunk like the rest. A little has been done by the Government to arrest this annihilating vice of drinking: but the orders are ineffectively executed and drunkenness still prevails.

The whole district is a tundra, and it bears the name of the Bolshezemla Tundra; or the tundra of the Great Land. It reaches from Mezen to the Ural. The Petshora divides it. The western part has no general name in Russian, but the Samoyeds call it the Little Land. It falls into the Kanin and Timan divisions; the former being the more western of the two. The

river Piosha, according to the Russian geography, the river Soba, according to that of the Samoyeds, divides them. When these two are taken together, the name of the first division, the Bolshezemla Tundra, between the Petshora and the Ural, forms a third of the whole district; the term being taken in a *restricted* sense.

There is another division. The Bolshezemla Tundra being taken in its *wider* sense, falls into three Volosts—the Pustosersk, the Ustsylm, and the Ishim Volosts: the first two of which lie north and west, the last south and east. The first two are nearly wholly Samoyed; but the Ishim Tundra is Samoyed and Zirianian as well: for the Zirianians have encroached on the Samoyeds and extended themselves as far as the mouth of the Obi; Obdorsk, though essentially a town of the Ostiaks, with whom we meet as soon as we cross the Ural, being visited by both Zirianians and Samoyeds.

Something has been done to introduce Christianity amongst the Samoyeds; though only lately; *i. e.* since 1830. And those who have adopted it have adopted it imperfectly; retaining almost all their old superstitions. The converts, indeed, who go so far as to invoke the Russian St. Nicolas when they are sick, look upon him as the magician Nikola rather than as the Christian saint.

The ordinary belief is in the *Tadibi* or medicine man, who has the power of interceding with the *Tadebsio*. The following is a Samoyed invocation.

*Tadibi.*

Come. come!
Spirits of Magic!
If you come to me,
I'll come to you;
Wake up! wake up!
Spirits of Magic!
I've come to you:
Awake from sleep!

*Tadebsib.*

Say why
Thou art come!
Why comest thou
To disturb our rest?

*Tadibi.*

There came to me
A young Nienets:
This man here,
Who vexes me much:
His reindeer is gone;
This is why
I am come.

The following Samoyed legend is one out of several. It is taken from the translation of Castrèn.

Once upon a time, there stood on the same spot of ground seven hundred tents. In the seven hundred tents there dwelt seven landlords. The seven landlords went forth, and went forth to feasts: they went to nothing but feasts. These seven landlords were brothers: they had all got wives, but no children. It is only the eldest that had a son; who was a little one. *He* never went to the feasts. He slept and slept: night and day slept he. One day, the father said to the son, "Get up, and go with the rest of us to a feast." But the son would not go to a feast: he had had a bad dream. He had dreamed that all the others were killed, and that he alone was left alive. He told his dream to his father, and said,—

"You will still keep your lives if you will offer as a sacrifice seven and seven reindeer."

"What knowest thou?" said the father; "thou sleepest day and night, and knowest less than a dog."

"As you like, father," said the son, and laid himself down again to sleep.

In the morning, he awakes, and sees that, out of the seven hundred men, there is not one alive: that they are all dead. He goes out to look after the reindeer: all the reindeer are dead. He looks after the dogs: all the dogs are dead. So he goes to the sledges, and takes a sword, and with it cuts down all the tent-posts, and all the tents fall-in. He begins then to wander forth. He goes one day—he goes two days—three days: he goes seven days in all. He looks behind him: he sees the place where the seven hundred tents lay fallen-in. He goes seven days further—looks back—sees two tents which have not yet fallen-in. He goes seven days further—looks back—sees no tents at all. He starts again; walks one month—walks two months—walks three months—walks seven months in all. At last he is tired of walking; for he has been a whole month without food.

It is a waste country through which he goes. He sinks down on the snow. There he lies, and lies a long, long time. He gets up, starts again, walks and walks till he comes to a spot where a tent had stood. He looks for some food and finds a piece of bone that the dogs had licked. He gnaws the bone, throws it away, and begins to look in the snow for some more. He finds a pair of silver ear-rings, lays them in his glove, and again begins to go on. He goes and goes, and goes further and further still, till, one day, he sees something in the distance, driving a reindeer. The driver comes towards him; nearer, and nearer still. It is a woman. The woman says,—

"Thou hast come from the tents: did you find the ear-rings I have lost?"

"Yes, I have; and here they are."

"Give them me—they are mine."

"I will give you the ear-rings if you will drive me to a place where men are alive."

Then the woman took her spear, and struck him with her spear, so that he fell down on the spot, and there he lay. The woman took the ear-rings, and away she went. The man lay and slept: a long time did he sleep. At last he awoke, got up, and began to go on; and again he came to a place where a tent had stood. He began, again, to look for something to eat, and found a bone which the dogs had licked. He gnawed the bone, threw it away, and looked under the snow for another.

He finds an iron shovel. He takes the shovel, and starts afresh. He goes and goes, till he sees some one coming with a reindeer. A beautiful, richly-dressed woman comes to meet him. She says,—

"Where are you going, my poor boy?"

"I am going on a fresh track which I have found. I am hungry, and must eat, else I die."

"Thou hast come from our old encampment: did you find an iron shovel?"

"Yes, I have; whom does it belong to?"

"That is my shovel, and I am come to look for it."

"I will give you the shovel if you will drive me to a human habitation."

"I will do that," said the woman; "why should I not? you will die otherwise; I will board and lodge you."

So he gave the shovel, and the woman took him in her sledge. Off they go.

"Who are you, poor lad?" said the woman, "and how is it that I do not know you?"

The boy answered,—

"No one knows me. I am a poor boy, without father or mother. I had once seven brothers. They were rich: they had seven hundred tents."

"I have heard of those seven brothers. Which way have they gone?"

"They died all in one night; and in the same night died also their seven hundred reindeer."

"Knowest thou to whom these two reindeer, with which you are now driving, belong?"

"How should I know? I don't know much; I am very young. But they are like my father's; but how my father's reindeer could come to us, I can't say."

"See, now; your father came courting me with these reindeer. He gave me them and the shovel as a bridal gift. He gave me also a sword, but that I have lost—it is stolen."

"I will find it in time," says the lad.

"Then you're my husband," says the girl.

So they went as man and wife to the tent, and lived there together. After they had lived there awhile, they began to shift their quarters. They harnessed their reindeer; but they gave the stranger a bad reindeer, and told him to follow in the track with his bad reindeer. He was soon left behind the others. He drives them on, but they will not go. Suddenly, the whole train stops. Someone says to him,—

"Who is that behind you?"

"Nobody; I am all alone."

However, he looked back. In the twinkling of an eye, the one who asked the question took a spear, and struck him down. There he lay: the others went their way. The woman, however, stayed behind, and began to weep for the dead man.

She sits in the sledge, and weeps. Suddenly, her reindeer take fright, and

gallop after the others. Then comes up to the dead man a grey-bearded old man, with one leg, one hand, and one eye. In his one hand he carries an iron staff. With this he strikes the dead man, and says,—

"What do you lie there for? Time to get up! Get up, and go back; your father is alive, and all your brothers have come to life again."

The dead man awoke, and said to himself,—

"I have slept a long time: who was the man who said my father was alive, and said that I should return?"

He looks about him—sees no one—fancies he has been dreaming. He goes forward, comes to the tent, and lays himself by the side of his wife to sleep. In the morning, they all get up, break up the encampment, harness the reindeer to the sledges, and gives the stranger a bad one. However, he drives on with his bad reindeer, in the rear of the others. They stop. The same man as before says,—

"Who is that behind you?"

"Nobody."

However, he looks round, and the man sticks him through, a second time, with the spear. They leave him: even the woman goes away with the rest. He is not dead: he will come again to the tent in good time. After they had gone, there comes again the old greybeard with one leg, one hand, and one eye. He strikes the dead man with his staff, and says,—

"I told you yesterday to go home: what are you doing here? Turn about, if you wish to keep your head on. Your father is alive, and has been so a long time."

The dead man awakes, looks about him, and says,—

"What manner of man is this that tells me to turn about, and talks about my father, and fancies he is alive? He has been dead a long time."

So, seeing no one, he fancies he has been dreaming, goes to the tent, and lays himself down by the side of his wife to sleep. Next morning, they begin to break up the encampment, and harness the reindeer. They give the stranger a bad one: he is left behind as before. They halt; the same person as before says,—

"Look what a number of reindeer are behind you!"

So he looks round, and the man stabs him with a spear. The rest go on. Then came the old greybeard, as before, with his one leg, one hand, and one eye. He struck the dead man with his iron staff, and said,—

"The third time I say to you, 'Turn back.' You have twice been killed: I have twice awakened you up to life; but now, I will not do it again."

So he gets up, but he will not return; he goes up to the tent, but he will not go into it: he puts himself in a sledge. He begins to fancy that some one will kill him. He takes the bows from the sledge, destroys them all; goes to the sledge of the woman, takes from these the iron shovel, and with it knocks down all the tents. The men run out: he knocks them down with the shovel. They run after the bows, but these are gone. He goes on slashing and hacking, hacking and slashing; he knocks them all down, except his wife, her father, her mother, and her children. And now he looks over the dead bodies. He cannot, however, find the dead body of the man who had three times killed him. He had run away, but his tracks were to be seen in the snow. He follows these up, runs and runs, till, at last, he overtakes him. They fight. They fight during the whole winter, and that on the same spot, until, at last, they each kill one another, and drop down dead. There they lay all the summer, and rotted. The foxes and the wolves tore their limbs, and ate up everything except the bones. Then came the

autumn; and with it came the old greybeard with one leg, one hand, and one eye. He said,—.

"How many times have I told you to return back? Now, this is the last time of all. After this, I shall not be able to help you."

So he took up the bones, and gathered them together, even the very smallest pieces, and put them in a sack, and put the sack on his back, and went his way. He came to a great stone. He kicked the stone, and it rolled on one side. Under the stone was a hole. The old man crept into it.

All was dark; but there was singing and piping. At the far end was a little hole to let in light. The old man goes towards it: but the singers and pipers try to rob him of his sack. However, he gets under the hole and sees naked men—men without clothes, men without flesh, men with nothing but bones—grinning.

So the old man went further till he found a tent; and in the tent an old woman. She was sitting on one side of the hearth. On the other stood two giants. They spoke no word. They moved no limb. Their eyes were on the tops of their heads, looking straight upwards. So the old man threw down the sack, and said to the old woman,—

"Here is fuel; burn it."

So the old woman burnt the bones to ashes. Then she strewed the ashes on the floor so as to make a bed, and slept on them. The third day they became a man.

"What dark hole have I been sleeping in?" said he, as he got up and looked round. "There is no chimney; no door."

He wants to get out; but the walls are of iron. So the old woman kicks the walls, and they open. Then he sees the two giants, and falls on his nose.

"What are these?" says he to the old woman; "are they men or beasts?"

"These are my fore-elders," says the old woman. "They neither speak nor eat; neither walk nor move. Once, they were good men and living; but now they neither see nor hear. They are stones.—What do you most wish for?"

*The man.*—To see my wife.

*The old woman.*—Then live with me till my reindeer come back; and they shall take you hence. Till then, however, you must be my husband; and I will turn you into a stone.

*The man.*—Be it so.

At the end of three days the reindeer came to take them away. So they got into sledges and drove through the dark cave where they had seen the men without flesh. These threw spears at them; but the reindeer were too quick for the spears. Then they came to the light. "Move the stone," said the old woman. But the man could not move it. However, the old woman kicked it away, and on they drove, till they came to a tent. Here the man found his first wife, her father, and her mother. So he took them all, along with the second wife, and went to where he first dwelt. Here he found the 700 tents, and the 700 reindeer. On the way, too, he saw the one-legged, one-handed, and one-eyed olding; and with him the man who had thrice killed him. So he fights and kills him in revenge. Then he loses his wits, and kills the one-handed old man; goes back to the tents; finds all dead. Then the two women die, and he is left alone in the land.

Of the smaller poems the following are average samples.

(1.)

I have borne no children:
My husband does not love me.

All my sisters-in-law have children:
Their husbands love them.
They have the best reindeer for their sledges,
I have the worst.
When we drive out together,
I must get out and hold the bridle,
And walk on foot.
The other brothers help their wives;
No one helps me.
One day I drove downhill,
Ran over my brothers-in-law,
Smashed their sledges.
Since then I have been treated better.

(2.)

They killed my friend;
They bound him,
They laid him in a sledge, and drove away.
They took him over the river;
They hanged him between two larch-trees.
'You have lain with my wife;
Therefore, you shall die!"
So said the murderer.

(3.)

Hear me, friend!
I have given my daughter to your son;
Shall never see her again.
See the head of the reindeer;
It is roasted in the smoke.
We cannot change,
We are kinsmen for our life.
Do not be hard with my daughter;
I have taught her to live with her husband—
To obey her husband;
My wife has taught her to live quiet.
Now let us go home.
And thou, daughter, look not back,
Neither weep:
I have given you a husband,
In whose house you must live,
In whose house you must die.
Now, kiss your father and mother,
And say Farewell."

I take the two populations of the *Yeniseians* and the *Yukahiri* together, not because they are very closely allied, but because they are so very small and fragmentary as to require little beyond a summary notice.

In all the works anterior to the publication of the Asia Polyglotta, certain small tribes on the Lower Yenisey were called

*Ostiak*. As they differed, however, from the true Ostiaks, Klaproth proposed to call them *Yeniseians*. It is to be regretted that Castrèn has only partially adopted the term. He calls the southern branch of them *Kot*, the northern, *Yeniseian Ostiaks*. The term Ostiak, however, can only mislead.

The northern Yeniseians lie between 60° and 66° N.L. A few lie on the river Ket. Still, the Yenisey is their proper river. They call themselves *Könniyung*. The *Denka*, if they still exist, have lost their language.

Between these and their congeners on the south, lie some degrees of latitude: so that nothing Yeniseian (in the ethnological sense of the term) is to be found before we reach the parts about Abakansk. And here, so great has been either the absorption or the annihilation of their nation that the number of individuals who, at the present time, speak the original language, falls short of a dozen. They are the Kot of Castrèn.

The *Yukahiri* also are nearly extinct. Those, however, who survive, occupy the lower part of the rivers Kolyma and Indidzhirka. The pressure upon them seems to have been exerted on every side; by the Yakuts, by the Koriaks, and by the Tungús. From the likeness which their language bears to the Samoyed I infer that their area extended eastward. The name of the extinct tribes are Omoki, Shelagi, Tshuvantsi, &c. "The fires on the hearths of the Omoki were once as numerous as the stars in the sky." So runs the belief in the country which they once occupied.

The few Yukahiri who remain are said to be well-built men. There is, however, no population of which less is known: though, to the ethnologist, it is one of great interest—inasmuch as its language, with Fin affinities on the one side, has American ones on the other.

They call themselves *Andon Domni*; and I have elsewhere given reasons for believing that Yukahiri is a name of Turk origin, signifying *painted* or *tatooed*, and that it was applied by the Yakuts. As far south as Mantshuria, I have noticed a Lake Chuchaghir. It *may* be that this was once an actual Yukahiri occupancy. At the same time, it is quite as probable that it merely means the occupancy of some painted or tatooed population.

## CHAPTER XXII.

The Kamtshadals.—The Koriaks.—The Aino.

It was towards the end of the sixteenth century that some Kosaks, from the Government of Yakutsk first settled on the western coast of Siberia, at the mouths of the rivers Bolshaia, Tigil, and Kamtshatka. From the name of the last, the population with which they first came in contact took its name; and from the name of the population, the peninsula. The resistance was, by no means, discreditable to the energy and courage of the native tribes; though it seems to have been more obstinate in the north than in the south: more obstinate, perhaps, on the part of the Koriaks than the true Kamtshatkans. The former extended far into the peninsula, and it was on the river Tigil that the two frontiers met. The development of Kamtshatka as a Government followed; the small capital being fixed first at Nizhni Kamtshatsk, then at Bolsheretsk, then at Nizhni Kamtshatsk again, and, finally, at Petropaulovski: Tigil and Ishiga being founded as forts against the Koriaks. Meanwhile, fresh villages arose. Petropaulovski sent out offshoots; and the aboriginal population, under the influences of oppression, brandy, and the small-pox, rapidly decreased. The settlers were often of mixed blood—Tungús, Yakut, and Russian.

Of the aborigines, all the existing representatives are fragmentary and mixed: those of the river Kamtshatka with Russians; those of the Bolshaia with Kurilians: those of the northern frontier with Koriaks. It is with the first of these three that the language is the nearest to its extinction: with the last, that it is the most current.

The whole of Kamtshatka, however, contains no more than 7000 inhabitants—if so many.

The *Koriaks, Koræki,* or *Koriaks Proper,* occupy the northern

parts of the peninsula itself, and extend till they touch the frontier of their immediate congeners, the Lutorzi of the Gulf of Pendzhinsk. They are either Shamanists or imperfect Christians. The nearer they are to the town of Okhotsk, the more they are Russianized. They drive dogs, and, in most points, resemble the Kamtshadales, who belong to the same stock; though Klaproth has, over-hastily, separated their languages.

The contrast between the Koriak and Tungús physiognomy is generally insisted on—the Koriak skull being less round and the Koriak features less flat than those of the Tungús. On the contrary, its likeness to that of the Americans of the extreme north-west, especially the Loucheux, has been indicated.

The Koriaks fall into two primary divisions, the *Nomads*, and the *Villagers*—the first being the owners of large flocks of reindeer, which they follow from spot to spot as the season or the scanty vegetation directs. Of the sub-divisions of these we know but little. Of the Village, Stationary, or Settled tribes we know more. They occupy five different districts, separate from each other—so that it is no wonder that their language falls into just so many well-marked dialects.

On the head of the Gulf of Pendzinsk lie the *Paren* and *Kamenaia* tribes, so named from the two chief villages of their area—*Parenzi* and *Kamenzi* as they are called in the Russian and German notices. The dog is their chief domestic animal: their huts are half pit, half building: their superstitions Shamanist; their habits rude, and predatory. In '52 they amount to 235, spread over eight villages.

The *Pallan*, or *Pallanzi*, amounted in '53 to 872. In the two northern villages (one of which is *Pallan* itself) they approach the Kamenaia and Paren Koriaks in barbarism and heathenhood. In the other five they have taken a tincture of Russian civilization. They extend to the Tigil and pass for Christians.

On the opposite, or eastern, side of the Peninsula, nearly opposite to the Pallans, lie the *Uka*—again, taking their name from their chief village; one out of six. Amounting (in '53) to 413, they are all nominal Christians—Russianized in the South, Koriak in the North.

The *Olutorians* or *Olutorzi* reach from below Cape Olutora

to the mouth of the Anadyr, in nine villages, and are in the condition of the Parens and Kamenaias rather than that of the Ukas and Pallans. To the Nomads and the Tshuktshi, they bear a still stronger likeness; being strong in body, well-made, independent in spirit, heathen to a very great extent.

Of the Nomad, or Reindeer Koriaks, who, in '53, paid tribute at either Ishiga or Petropaulovski, the number amounted to 1750—to which may be added 1000 more, on the Tshuktshi frontier who pay no tribute at all.

Between the mouth of the Amur, and the Kamenaia districts, the thinly-inhabited district is occupied chiefly by Lamut Tungús, intermixed with Yakuts and Koriaks—the latter representing, to all appearances, the original population..

*Aino* is the name of the inhabitants of the Kurile islands and the peninsula of Sakalin. A few, too, are (or were) to be found at the extremity of Kamtshatka. Some members of this small family are subject to China: some to Japan; some (as is implied by the fact of their being mentioned here) to Russia.

Those Aino of the island of Sakalin who are Russian subjects occupy the northern part of the southern third of the island.

They dress in dog-skins, seal-skins, fish-skins, Japanese cottons; and (either deservedly or undeservedly) have been praised by some observers for their cleanliness. They weave, spin, and make a sort of cloth from the bark of the willow. They build large storehouses, keep bears, and dig for the roots of a yellow lily and the angelica—but are no husbandmen.

At the autumnal feast of the Omsia a bear is killed, and eaten.

They poison their arrows, and sell such miserables as they can kidnap to the Tungús of the Amur.

I find it stated that after death, the bowels of the deceased are taken-out through the anus by some kind friend, who, during his lifetime, had promised to undertake the disgusting office. The body is then dried in the air, and has a hut built over it. The poorer people cut down a tree, mark it, and set-up on it a short pole with a tassel hanging from it—a symbol of Inao, one of their deities.

According to a Japanese account the method of barter among the Aino is that of the western Africans as described by Herodotus; as well as that of certain tribes in Vera Paz and else-

where. The Santans (this is the Japanese name for the people of the Lower Amur) place their wares on the shore and retire. The Aino, then, advance and replace them by an equivalent in furs.

Of the Kurile *Islands* the most northern, Sumshu, is the smallest; and it is the occupancy of the Russian American Fur Company. Such natives as still remain, without being Russianized, must be few. Every notice of the Aino mentions them as a population which is fast dying out.

The next island is Paramushir, and, this being a larger island, the natives on it are more numerous. They are unsettled in their habits, maritime boatmen, and traders in a small way with the Russians of the Fur Company.

Further south the supremacy is disputed between Russia and Japan. In Matsmai, however, the older population is Kurilian; whilst the encroachment on it is from Japan.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

The Turks and Tartars.—General View of the Class.—The Khazars, Petshenegs, and Cumanians.—The Khanats of the Crimea, Astrakan, and Kazan.—The Nogays, Bashkirs, Meshtsheriaks, Tyeptyars.—The Kirghiz.—The Barabinski, &c.—The Tshulim, and the Kuznetsk Turks.—Koibals.—Karagass, &c.—Yakuts.—The Dolganen.—The Karaikalpaks.—The Turcomans.—Khivans.—The Uz.—The Tshagatai.—Turks of Minsk, &c.

We now pass from the end of a complex series of small and fragmentary populations to the beginning of one which is both simpler and more important. It contains larger groups and the representatives of more important families. We also go back to Europe for our starting-point. We start from the south rather than the north—from the Black Sea rather than the Gulf of Bothnia or the Arctic Ocean. Though some of the populations under notice will have protruded themselves so far even as to cut the Arctic Circle, they, on the whole, belong to Southern, rather than Northern, Siberia.

The populations in question belong to one of three great groups, stocks, or families — the Turk, the Mongol, or the Tungús. Whenever we speak of a *Tartar*, he belongs to the first, whenever we speak of a *Kalmuk*, he belongs to the second, of these divisions. It is necessary to insist upon this; because, whatever may be the laxity with which the term Tartar is used, it is, in Russian ethnology at least, a misnomer when applied to a Mongol. It is still worse to call a Turk a Kalmuk.

For our present investigations, it is convenient to keep back the question as to the blood, language, and other ethnological characteristics of the ancient Scythians, the Huns, the Avars, and other populations of Asiatic origin and nomadic habits, until we come to the details of Russia Proper, of Caucasus, of Turkey, or of Hungary; and limit ourselves to the period between the time of Mahomet and Tamerlane. We shall also do well in re-

membering that, even with this limitation, a full view of the question cannot be given, until the history of the Mongols under Tshingiz-Khan and his successors shall have come under notice. This is because the populations under consideration are the fragments of four Turkish kingdoms or khanats; the khanats themselves being the fragments of the great Mongol empire of the Kiptshak. But this great empire itself was, more or less, the consolidation of, at least, two older kingdoms compressed into one.

The khanats that grew out of the Kiptshak were those of Astrakan, Kazan, and the Crimea; besides which there was a fourth of some kind or other in Siberia, though for this our details are uncertain and obscure.

The factors, however, in the problem are clear. There were the Mongols of Temudzhin or Tshingiz-Khan. There were the Tshagatai Turks of Timur and his successors, Turks whose origin was in the parts beyond the Oxus—Bokhara and Ferghana. There were the three denominations of the Khazars, the Petshenegs, and the Cumanians. There were the Kirghiz of what was once Independent Tartary. Finally, there were certain important divisions of the Southern Ugrians; for it is certain that either the Ostiaks or their near congeners extended much further to the south than they do at present, and it is probable that either the Mordvins, or their near congeners, did the same.

The *Khazars* are mentioned by Theophanes as Turks from the East who assisted the Emperor Heraclius against Chosroes, king of Persia. They conquered the Goths of the Crimea; and took tribute from the Viatitsh, the Severski, and the Polyani—occupants of different parts of Southern Russia. These I believe, at the time in question, to have been Ugrians rather than Slavonians. But this, again, is minute ethnology. On the west, the Khazar frontier touched that of—

The *Petshenegs*, whose name I give in what I think the most convenient form; and, notwithstanding a dislike to go into verbal criticism (unless especially called upon to do so), I am induced to make a few remarks on it. We find it in Greek, in Slavonic, in Latin, in Scandinavian, and in Hungarian writers: as Πατζινάκιται, Peczinegi, Pincenates, Petinei, Postinagi, Pezini, and, above all, as Bisseni and Bessi (this in Hungarian notices),

out of which we get *Bess*-arabia; whilst out of some of the others we get *Budjak*—the name, at the present moment, for a Tartar district in Bessarabia.

In the tenth century, the Petshenegs attack Kiev, and, somewhat later, we find them as far south as Salonica; this giving us the measure of their inroads. Another name for them was Kangar. They lived a long time in Europe before they exchanged the tent for the house. Formidable warriors and faithless allies, they appear in the greatest detail in the reign of Constantine Monomachus, between A.D. 1028 and A.D. 1054, when Tyrach is their king and Keghenes (? Khakan) his general. Like so many others of his class, Keghenes, whose actions as a soldier had excited the jealousy of his king, transferred his services to the Empire, followed by as many as twenty thousand men. Allowing himself to be converted to Christianity, he received the title of Patrician. From a fort on the Danube, he made inroads on the country he fled from. Tyrach, whose remonstrances were neglected, crossed the Danube, with his army, on the ice; but disease thinned his ranks, and he surrendered. Keghenes recommended a wholesale slaughter, but his advice, either from policy or humanity, was neglected, and the prisoners were planted, as colonists, in the parts about Sardica and Naissus. Many of the nobles embraced Christianity. Of the remainder, fifteen thousand were sent to join the army in Armenia. On reaching Damatrys, one of their generals persuaded them to force their way back. They did so, and joined their countrymen the colonists. They then moved forward to the mouth of the River Osmos, and again to a place called the Hundred Hills. Keghenes was ordered to move against them, narrowly escaped assassination, was accused of complicity, and arrested. His followers joined their countrymen. The king, who had been taken captive, was released upon condition that he should bring back his countrymen to their allegiance; but he renounced his Christianity, and revenged himself by two successful battles. This restored Keghenes to favour. He defeated his countrymen, but was murdered after his victory. A truce of thirty years was the result.

At some uncertain date after this, the Petshenegs became Christian, and adopted the language of the country in which they settled.

An Arab writer, who knew both the Petshenegs and the Cumanians, considers that the Cumanians were the nobler of the two. His knowledge may have been imperfect, or his standard peculiar. The habits of the Cumanians may have been exaggerated, or they may have been looked upon with undue horror. As the account of them comes from Europeans, this is possible. The best, however, was bad. Nestor says they cared not what they ate; Otto of Frisingen that they devoured horseflesh; Henry the Lett that they drank not only mare's milk but mare's blood as well; and that their meat was eaten raw. However, the chroniclers had the satisfaction of adding that they were defeated. There is little doubt as to the area of the Cumanians. The Russians call them *Polowci* or *Poles*, a word meaning *Men of the plains*. The German for this is *Waluwen*, the French *Valan*. A Latin form is *Falones*. All this is simply the etymon of the name of the Russian Government, *Volhynia*.

There were Cumanian settlements in Thrace, in Asia Minor, and, as we see in the sequel, in Hungary.

The Cumanian history begins later than that of the Petshenegs; and, in the thirteenth century, Carpin and Rubriquis found Cumanians between the Dnieper and the Volga.

All the preceding nations had fixed themselves in Europe before the time of Tzhingiz-Khan. All preceded the Mongols, whom the *Tshagatai* followed; the Tshagatai being the Turks of the dynasty to which Timur belonged.

As the Khanats were developed out of the dissolution of the Kiptshak, their origins were nearly contemporary, *i. e.* between 1375 and 1400. Their durations, however, were different. Kazan became Russian in 1552, Astrakan in 1554, the Crimea no earlier than 1783.

The Turks of the Crimea (whom it is convenient to call by the old name of Crim Tartars), when separated from such descendants of the Scythians as may have preceded them and from certain settlers of later introduction, are chiefly of Khazar and Petsheneg origin. There may be Cumanian elements amongst them; but the mass is Petsheneg and Khazar—more Khazar than Petsheneg.

The Crimea was an early conquest of the Ottoman Turks; yet in a work so copious and minute as Von Hanmer's history I find

no notice of it earlier than the reign of Selim I., when the Tartars of that peninsula are mentioned as formidable enemies, but also as tribes who, to some extent, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Porte, and whose khan was nominated by the sultan. Hence, all that I can say upon the early history of this khanat is that, during the fourteenth century, it ceased to be Mongol; and that, by the middle of the sixteenth, it had become Ottoman. And even under the Ottomans, its history is obscure and fragmentary. The little, however, that we have of it is of the bloodiest. It is one tissue of intrigue, murder, and fratricide. The authority of the Porte is at times recognized, at times neglected. When the sultan is stronger than the khans, he is obeyed; when the khans are stronger than the sultan, the mandates of the Porte are despised. The most powerful sultans, however, were those who came least in contact with the khans: being engaged in Hungary, in Germany, in Candia, and elsewhere; for it was on the Danube, rather than the Dnieper, that the presence of the Amuraths and the Solimans was required. The function of the Khanat was, probably, that of a March or military frontier, rather than aught else; for we must remember that it took-in the present Governments of Bessarabia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and part of the Caucasus, as well as that of Tauris, or the Peninsula Proper. And in these it found amongst its dependents, not only the numerous tribes of the nomad Tartars, but Kosaks of Polish, Kosaks of Lithuanian, Kosaks of Russian, Kosaks of Circassian, and Kosaks of blood of all kinds. The allegiance of all these wild warriors was divided and capricious; still, much of it was due to the khan of the Crimea.

Then there were the Rumanyos — Rumanyos in language, though, to a great extent, Petsheneg in blood. Of these, there were many on the frontiers of Moldavia and between the Pruth and the Dnieper. As a general rule, they were less rude than the pure Tartars, and, perhaps, less warlike. So far as they had a nationality, it was that of the Moldavians and the Wallachians; but of this nationality history gives but few signs.

It was partly from the Danubian Principalities, and partly from the Government of Caucasus, that the khanat of the Crimea was reduced. The Russians under Galitzin had fought with indifferent success in Moldavia; and Galitzin was replaced by a much

abler general, Romanzov, who had defeated the Turks at Galacz and at Jassy, and who had shaken the allegiance, not only of the Moldavians but of the Wallachians also The effect of a foolish edict of the Sultan's, by which the property of those who submitted to the Russians was confiscated, whilst their wives and children were condemned to be sold, had the natural effect of connecting the Principalities more closely with Russia; and so effectually did it do this that, at a meeting of the nobles at Bucharest, the insignia of government were placed in the hands of Russian commissioners, and a deputation was sent to St. Petersburg, with orders to ask for the protection of the Czarina, and take the oath of allegiance. It was in Moldavia that the chief forces of the Crimean khan, as well as the khan himself in person, were employed: and against a commander like Romanzov they were not likely to be employed with any very signal success. He stormed the vizier's camp, and drove his army before him. On the southern side of the Danube, it re-assembled, when the charge of the Dobrudzha and Bessarabia was given to the khan. At Bender, the resistance was obstinate; and when, after a siege of two months, the town was finally taken, the Russian commander was reminded that he had paid too dearly for the capture, so vigorously had it been defended. Elsewhere, however, the progress of Romanzov was easy. Kilia, Akkerman, and Ismail surrendered after short sieges. Brailov held out for eighteen days; but, at the close of the campaign, all the fortresses on the Lower Danube were in the hands of the Russians. Meanwhile, the khan of the Crimea was with the Turkish armies.

It was decided, however, that he would be more useful in his own country; and Selim Ghirai betook himself to his palace at Baktshi Serai: but not to enjoy its pleasures. The lines of Perekop, which, the year before, had resisted an attack, were forced, and Prince Dolgoruki, with a numerous army of Russians and Nogays, was investing the town. Another army had entered the peninsula at its eastern extremity, and was on the march to Kaffa. The khan, with less than the ordinary courage of his race, now fled back to his palace, where he found neither counsel nor soldiers; and, when the Russians had reached his palace, he fled again to the Karadagh, where he collected a few followers, and organized an imperfect defence. But this also he abandoned;

and, having found a vessel by which he could escape to Constantinople, effected a disgraceful abdication.

Upon the flight of Selim Ghirai, Dolgoruki promised the protection of the Czarina to a khan of the Ghirai family; and Shahin Ghirai was invested with the dignity. Kaffa, Kertsh, and Yenikale opened their gates to the Russians; and the little which was done by the Ottoman troops which had been sent to the assistance of the khan, was useless. The officer at the head of them was beaten, taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople. Dolgoruki took the title of Krimski: and the independence of the Crimea was at an end.

When the connection between the Crimea and the Porte was thus broken, and when the name of an independent khan covered the instrumentality of a nominee of Russia, great internal changes took place, in regard both to the native population of the peninsula and the settlers within it. No fewer than 30,000 Greeks and Armenians emigrated to the Government of the Don Kosaks, of which, at the present time, they form along with a small colony of Germans, the whole of the population which is other than Russian. The Tartar emigration was greater still. It began in 1783; and it either still continues, or has but lately ceased. As the khans, however, kept no census, the number of the Crimean Tartars before the peace of Kainardzhi is unknown. Georgi makes it amount to something between 330,000 and 400,000; Pallas to 500,000. If we knew which of these numbers to choose, and if the Russian census of 1796 were accurate —which it is admitted not to be—we might arrive at an approximate estimate of the first migrations. The highest number that this gives is 90,000; a sum which implies a removal, by either death or migration, of upwards of 300,000 individuals. In 1784 alone, so many as 80,000 left the peninsula. They generally betook themselves to Roumelia and Anatolia; amongst which was the family of the khan. Of some of the other noble families the representatives still retain their hereditary possessions, which they hold under different tenures. Amongst the common people there are more herdsmen than tillers of the soil; though agricultural industry is, by no means, wholly absent. There is much of it on the level, less of it in the hilly country. Upon the whole, however, the civilization of the Crimean Turks, except that there is less

commerce amongst them, and that they form a smaller proportion of the population of the towns, is that of the Tartars of Kazan.

Between 1796 and 1800, they increased from 90,000 (there or thereabouts) to 120,000. In 1838, they amounted to 275,822.

Of the Turks of the khanat of *Astrakan*, some are to be found in the Government of Caucasus, and others in that of Astrakan itself. They are separated from one another by a Mongol district, of which more will be said in the sequel. The northern or eastern branch is in contact with the most western Kirghiz.

Some of these are Nogays. The whole may amount to 22,000.

In allotting all the Turks of the following Governments to the khanat of *Kazan*, I may err in some unimportant details, inasmuch as some of them may have had their origin beyond its frontiers. I give, however, the following table:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Kazan | 308,574 |
| ——— | Orenburg | 230,080 |
| ——— | Stauropol | 96,037 |
| ——— | Samar | 83,927 |
| ——— | Simbirsk | 67,730 |
| ——— | Viatka | 57,944 |
| ——— | Saratov | 46,713 |
| ——— | Penza | 34,684 |
| ——— | Nizhnigorod | 22,788 |
| ——— | Perm | 17,271 |
| ——— | Tambov | 10,640 |
| ——— | Riazan | 4,725 |
| ——— | Kostroma | 262 |

In the city of Kazan itself with a population of more than 50,000 two-thirds are Russian, one-third Turk; the latter living apart and in the so-called Tartar town.

No longer the metropolis of a khanat it is still a town full of trade, industry, and intelligence; its University being the great seminary for missionaries and for agitators in behalf of religious and political designs of Russia in the direction of the east.

All travellers speak well of the Kazan Tartars. In the towns they have wholly sunk their original nomad character and are

as truly industrial as so many Jews, Armenians, or Anglo-Saxons. In the country some of the old characteristics keep their ground. Yet, in the country, they are hard-working farmers—though shepherds and bee-masters also. In both, they are zealous and sincere, though not intolerant, Mahometans; less sensual, and less idle, than the Osmanli of Constantinople, and circumspect in business. In dress, they are accommodating themselves to that of the Russians.

The approximate measure of the old Bulgarian civilization is to be found in the ruins of Vrakhimov and Bolgari near Spask, on the left bank of the Volga, half-way between Kazan and Simbirsk. The coins found there are Cufic: the inscriptions Turkish, Arabic, and Armenian. Of the 47 Turkish legends 22 are referable to one year, the year of the Hegira, 623. As Vrakimov fell off Old Kazan rose; and as Old Kazan declined, the Kazan of the present time flourished.

*Mutatis mutandis,* the same phenomenon presents itself in Astrakan, where the ruins of Okak and Serai replace those of Vrakimov and Old Kazan.

Of the *Nogays* there are four divisions—one in the locality which they inhabited in the time of Peter the Great, two in settlements planted by that emperor, and a fourth in the Crimea, where itseems to have been settled under the khanat. Of these—

1. The Nogays of the original locality are the so-called Kundur Tartars of the Aktuba, one of the mouths of the Volga. They change their residence as well as their mode of life with the season, living during the summer in felt tents, and resorting when winter comes on to the town of Krasnoyarsk. Of these—

2. The Nogays of the Kuma and Kuban, along with—

3. The Nogays to the north of the Black Sea, are the offsets.

4. The Crimean Nogays are remarkable for the extent to which they have laid aside their migratory habits and become settled agriculturists. So far from their preferring the tent to the house, or the encampment to the village, they are amongst the most industrious of the Tartars of the Crimea.

Orenburg is the *Bashkir* country; for it is in Orenburg that the Bashkirs are the most numerous, and most wear the guise of an original population: the Tartars, as has been seen, being also numerous.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Orenburg . . . | 332,358 |
| ——— | Perm . . . . | 40,746 |
| ——— | Samar . . . . | 15,351 |
| ——— | Viatka . . . . | 3,617 |
| | | 393,072 |

Next, in order, come the Meshtsheriaks, and then, after a long interval, the Tshuvash, the Mordvins and the Tsherimis; followed by about 15,000 Germans, and a few Gipsies.

In language the Bashkirs are Tartars; in blood (I think) Ugrians. They are pastoral rather than agricultural, and quite as much military as pastoral: Mahometans in creed, and, to a great extent, nomads in habit. Before the conquest of Kazan, two other Khans, one in Siberia, and one in Independent Tartary, took tribute from a portion of the Bashkir country—the bulk of which belonged to Kazan. The Bashkirs, however, submitted to Russia, and after the foundation of Ufa were effectually protected by her. During the wars of the seventeenth century between the Kirghiz and the Siberians, the Bashkirs revolted—once in 1672, once in 1707, and once in 1740. They also moved with the Kosaks in Pugatsheff's rebellion. The first three of these revolts were headed by native chiefs. In 1735, a Kosak March, or boundary, had been established on the frontier; but since 1741 the Bashkirs themselves have, to a great extent, been converted into virtual Kosaks. Instead of paying tribute, they serve as soldiers, and submit to a military organization. The Starshins, judges, or elders, are appointed by Russia; who feebly represent the original nobility.

The *Meshtsheriaks* are mixed up with the Bashkirs, and, except that they remained faithful to Russia during the Bashkir rebellions, and that they are civilians rather than soldiers in habit, are little more than Bashkirs under another name—if, indeed, the names are not identical. They amount

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the Government of | Orenburg to . . | 71,578 |
| ——— | Perm . . . . . | 5,783 |
| ——— | Saratov . . . . . | 2,580 |
| | | 79,941 |

The *Tyeptyar* are believed to be a mixture of Turks and

Ugrians, who crossed the Ural and submitted to Russia soon after the conquest of Kazan. They are imperfect Mahometans. Word for word, Tyeptyar seems to be *Kiptshak*.

The true occupancy of the *Kirghiz* is Independent Tartary. We shall, however, see how much it has forfeited its title to the name.

The Kirghiz fall into—

| | |
|---|---|
| The Middle Hord . . . . . | 500,000 |
| — Little —— . . . . . | 190,000 |
| — Great —— . . . . . | 100,000 |
| | 790,000 |

The *Middle* Hord belongs almost as much to Siberia as to Tartary; its occupancy being the drainage of the Upper Ishim and the Upper Obi. In 1823 some of its sultans put themselves under the protection of Russia. At first they paid no tribute. Now they pay some. One of its tribes, the Naiman, has a Mongol name. Of two others, the Argin and the Turtul, more will be said anon; since they are names which re-appear on the Tshulim.

The *Little* Hord became, more or less, Russian about the middle of the last century; when the tribes under the chieftaincy of Abulkair, along with some others, invoked the protection of the Czar. Their allegiance, however, was doubtful. They made inroads across the frontier, and levied blackmail upon the caravans to and from Bokhara. To check this, their constitution was changed and the power of the khans was broken—with this, the integrity of the hord. Some went over to China, some to the Middle Hord, some to the khanat of Khiva. Finally, a division of 10,000 families settled in Astrakan. In 1812 the khanat was made hereditary in the family of Bakei. They lie a little to the right of the Volga, from which they are divided by the Kalmuks. On the south they are bounded by a small Turk district and the Caspian. A little to the north of them lie the Bashkir and German districts, the former in Orenburg, the latter in Saratov. They seem to be wholly cut off from the other Kirghiz: and amount to about 82,000. With the exception of *Katai*, which reminds us of the Mantshu *Kitan*, the names of the tribes of the Little Hord are purely Turk.

The *Great* Hord lies north and east, and reaches the drainage

of the Upper Yenisei. The name of, at least, one of their tribes is Buriat; a name identical with that of the Buriat Mongols. How far this makes the Mongols Turkish, or the Kirghiz Mongol I have not inquired. In the Chinese geographers the name by which the most eastern of their tribes was known is Kilikisa, or Kirghiz.

In 1606, when the *Barabinski* submitted to Russia, a large portion of the Great Hord did the same; the Barabinski being the Turks of Barama, that dreary waste which lies between the Ishim and the Obi. In summer the Barabinski Tartars dwell in tents; in winter in huts; the huts being partially sunk in the ground. They are, for the most part, herdsmen, with a slight tendency to an imperfect agriculture. Shamanism is common; to the exclusion, I believe, of Mahometanism—but not to that of Christianity; which is making its way amongst them.

From the name of their country which is Bara*ma*, meaning the Bara country, and from *ma* being the ordinary Fin name for *land*, along with other facts which point to the same conclusion, I consider that the Barabinski are, more or less, Fin in blood. That they are old occupants of their present area I infer from their being Shamans rather than Mahometans. That some of them may have had the once terrible Avars amongst their ancestors I infer from the name.

They may amount to 3500 individuals paying *yasak* or tribute, Russia being the Power that holds them tributary. They call

| | |
|---|---|
| The Russians . . . . | *Urus* |
| „ Kirghiz . . . . . | *Kasak* |
| „ Kalmuks. . . . . | *Kalmuk* |
| „ Ostiaks . . . . . | *Ishtak* |

They fall into the following Aimâks: this Mongol term being the one I find in Klaproth.

| In Turk. | In Russian. |
|---|---|
| 1. Langga. | Tanuskaya Volost |
| 2. Lubai. | Lubanskaya Volost. |
| 3. Kulaba. | Turashkaya Volost. |
| 4. Barama. | Barabinskaya Volost. |
| 5. Tsoi. | Tshaiskaya Volost. |
| 6. Terena. | Tereninskaya Volost. |
| 7. Kargala. | Kargalinskaya Volost. |

The *Tshulim* Tartars, occupants of a feeder of the Obi, so called, are said to approach the Mongols in their looks, and also to speak a dialect of the Turkish which has more than an ordinary amount of Mongol words. Pastoral rather than agricultural, and Christian rather than Mahometan, the Tshulim Turks, who amount to about 15,000, are also, to some extent, Shamanist. They move with seasons; live by fishing and hunting; and dwell, like the Barabinski, in huts sunk in the ground. That the climate is unhealthy is inferred from a notice of Bell's, who remarked the prevalence of a skin-disease amongst them, which left large white spots on their otherwise swarthy bodies. He attributes it to the exclusive use of fish and animal food. For a small population their tribes are numerous. Two are named Bura; which points to Barama. Besides these there is a Tutul tribe, and an Argen tribe; names which point to the Middle Hord of the Kirghiz.

Of the tribes of the Upper Tom, Verkho-Tomski, or Kuznetsk, the *Abintsi* are one; and with these ends the notice of the Tartars of the drainage of the Obi.

Of those of the Yenesey the most western are the *Katshtalar* or Katshinzi (the first form being Turk, the second Russian), so-called from the river which they occupy.

The *Boktalar*, or Boktintsi, lie below—

The *Kaidin* above—Abakansk.

The *Beltyr*, amounting to about 150 payers of tribute, lie on the right bank of the Abakan.

The *Biryus*, on the river so-called, originally belonged to the Verkho-Tomski Tartars. They are all poor, with a few horses, a few oxen, and a little rye. They have a chief (Bashlik) at the head of each of their four divisions.

The *Tubalar*, or Tubintsi, on the Tuba, though Turk in language, are believed to be Samoyed in blood. They are sometimes called Kirghiz: a fact which points to Independent Tartary. Indeed, I imagine, that it is from the Kirghiz that all these tribes of Siberia have been derived.

The preceding view of these minor divisions of the Siberian Turks is purely ethnological. The political classification, or the classification which is current with those Russian officials, who look chiefly to topographical boundaries and the most convenient way

by which the tribute can be collected, is somewhat different. It gives four divisions.

1. *The Koibal* tribes of the Yenisey after it passes the Chinese frontier and becomes Russian and Siberian.—Some of the Koibals are subject to China: not that the Chinese call them so, but that the class, so far as it is natural rather than political, is Chinese as well as Russian. The Koibal area (politically speaking) is bounded by the Yenisey; the Tabat, a feeder of the Abakan; and the Sogda, a feeder of the Tuba. The tribes on the Tuba are mentioned elsewhere, and, *eo nomine*, as Tubalar or Tubinski. I imagine that they differ from the true Koibals, without being sure of it. This is because the Koibals (some or all) name themselves Tufa; a fact which suggests the probability of the Tubalar being a branch of them. If so, they are, in the present work, noticed twice over.

In 1830, the Koibals (the word being dealt with as a political term) amount to 635 males, and 493 females—total 1128.

In the way of *language*, the Koibals are Turks; the Koibal grammar of Castrèn being neither more nor less than a grammar of a Turk dialect spoken in Siberia, on the right bank of the Abakan.

In the way of *blood*, they are anything but Turk. Out of the eight divisions, which come under the denomination, five are Samoyed, three Yeniseian.

The *name*, however, is Samoyed. In Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, there is a long Koibal vocabulary, collected during the last century, by Messerschmidt, which is simply Samoyed; and in 1847, a few grey-headed Koibals could still speak Samoyed.

2. *The Sagay.*—These lie between Askyz and the Upper Abakan; and amounted, in 1830, to 3897 males, and 4011 females; total 7908.

3. *The Katsha, Katshalar,* or *Katshinski.*—On the Lower Abakan, or between the Sagay and the Yenisey; also on the White Iyus. They amounted, in 1860, to 3460 males, and 3119 females; total, 6579. Castrèn, however, in 1847, puts them at 9436 in all. The Koibals and Sagay were Samoyeds and Yeniseians who had become Turk. The Katsha tribes have gone further. They are in the third stage and are Russian.

4. *The Kisilzi.*—This is the most northern of the four divisions; and, also, the most Russian. Perhaps, indeed, the Kisilzi

are wholly Russianized. They amounted, in 1830, to 2282 males, and 2080 females; total, 5362.

The *Karagass*, conterminous with the Koibals and Soiot, occupy the valleys of the Oka, Uda, Biryus, and Kan, as nomads. In 1851, they amounted to 284 males, and 259 females; total 543. They fall into five tribes.

1. The Kash.
2. The Kash Sareg.
3. The Tyogde.
4. The Kara Tyogde.
5. The Tyeptei.

The Kash are conterminous with the Soiot; the Sareg Kash with the Kamash: the Tyeptei with the Buriats.

Castrèn visited the *Koibals*. He found them in extreme poverty; but they were pleased when he asked about their language and their history. Yet the pleasure was dashed with mistrust. "Why do travellers visit us? Surely we must be of more value than other people." An old man who remembered the expedition of Pallas, told him, that since the foreigner visited them, all had gone bad. The cattle sickened when he went away. But "was that Pallas's fault?" The answer was, "that men don't come and pass weeks in the winter for nothing." The chief charge against him was, that he was an excavator of the *Tshuden-gräben*, and that he was a magician. Nor was this belief extinct. Castrèn, himself, who excavated as far as his opportunities would let him, was supposed to be looking after Tshúd skulls, out of which a decoction more effective than sarsaparilla was to be made. Still they let him dig and received him kindly; though steeped in poverty to the very lips themselves. He found huts where the children ran naked, crying for food; for which the dogs howled too. Yet they found a place for him by the fire. They found it, too, for a miserable beggar—vagabond and minstrel—who, on a two-stringed harp, sang the following song of Tyenar Kuss.

There was a Tartar whose name was Tyenar-Kuss; he had a great many tents, more men, and still more cattle. He was very old. He took to himself a wife. He loved her much; but he thought, in his own heart, that she never loved him. So he tried her love. He went out one morning, as if he went after some cattle that he said were missing. He went a little way; but, before he had gone far, he threw himself down on the ground, and lay as if he were dead. The shep-

herds and herdsmen saw him; and, as he never moved a limb, they thought he was dead. So they went back to his tribe, and said that he was lying dead. When his wife heard this, she took a horse, and rode to where he lay, and found him lying on the ground, just like a dead man; never moving a limb. So she lay down by his side, and began to weep. But Tyenar-Kuss thought to himself that he must not put faith in his wife's tears; so he lay as before. Then his wife took out a dagger, and said,—

"Thou seest, Tyenar-Kuss, that I will not abide any longer on the earth; I will never roam about as a widow, and look for any other husband. I will never part from you, my husband—my wedded one!"

But Tyenar-Kuss, though he heard all this, never moved a limb. He lay like a dead man. So the wife rose up, and took the dagger, and stabbed her breast with it, and fell dead by his side. And Tyenar-Kuss got up, and grieved that he had lost a good wife; and, as long as he lived, never ceased to mourn for her.

They talked too about Irle-khan, and when they put on new logs or got warm, said, "Aye! Fire is a god." They said the same of water; and the traveller was told that on certain occasions they threw the first-fruits into a river or lake. Some threw the first morsels of their meal towards the east. Those who did this did it to please Irle-khan. Displease Irle-khan and you will be punished as those are punished who give milk-and-water instead of milk.

Of the *Soiot* little is known. Most of them are Chinese.

There was a man, and his name was Toros. He was a Soiot; but he lived within the boundaries of China. He paid tribute to the Chinese; but he wished to escape this tribute. So he moved himself northwards—himself and his tribe. They were thirty-five in all; and he wanted to settle in Siberia. This was two hundred years ago. His countrymen, who were Soiot, went after him, and followed hard on his track. He saw that they were near upon him, so he betook himself to the Toros Taskyl. It was a steep mountain, but he made a way. But his countrymen followed him: so he made a palisade. He cut down trees, and bound them together with bands; and heaped up a wall of stones behind them. His countrymen still followed on his footsteps. They came to the wall: they came under the wall. Then Toros cut the bands, and the wall fell down, and the stones rolled; and his countrymen were carried back. Not a man lived to tell the tale. But Toros dwelt with the Mator; and the way is called Toros's Way till this day.

One of the Sayanian tribes is named *Sokha;* the Sayanian tribes being held to be of Kirghiz origin. We have traced them as far north as the Upper Yenisey; and we have yet to trace them further.

They lead to the division which gives its name to the Government of Yakutsk, of which they are, for a native population, the most civilized inhabitants. *Yakut,* however, is only the name which the Russians give them. The name they give themselves is Saikha, Sokha, or *Sokhalar.* It is believed to be the name of

one of their early Khans; but this is unlikely; at any rate, he was the man who led them northwards, since the chief who separated them from the *Brath* (with which they made one nation) and led them from Lake Baikal to the Lower Lena, was not Sakha, but Deptsi Tarkhantegin. Word for word, *Brath* is *Buriat*. It points to the Buriat Mongols; and it also points to the Buriat Kirghiz of the Great Hord. It is with the latter that I more especially connect the Sakhalar or Yakut. At the same time, the names of the Baitung, the Yok Soyon, the Manga, and the Namin tribes are more Mongol and Turk. The two views, however, by no means exclude one another.

The most western of the Yakut are three small tribes on the Chatunga and in the parts about Dudinka, who lie in immediate contact with the Samoyeds, the Yeniseians, and the Tungús; with the latter of whom they have been confounded. Castrèn, indeed, says that all the world, the Samoyeds themselves included, have so confounded them. As far back, however, as 1856 Middendorf informed me of their true affinities.

In calling them Yakut, I merely mean that they speak the Yakut language; by no means holding that the blood and language coincide. Indeed, it is most likely that they do not.

There are three tribes. One of these is the *Dongót*, whose occupancy is about three days' journey from Dudinka, on the Noryl Lake. Word for word, Dongót seems to be Denka; and Dehka is the name of a division of the Yeniseians, who, as far back as Messerschmidts' time, had nearly lost their language, and who were said to count only as far as five.

The next is the *Adgan;* the third, the *Dolgan*. They refer their origin to three brothers, Galkinga, Sakatin, and Büka, who left the Yakut country but recently—so recently, says Castrèn, that one of his existing descendants smoked out of the very pipe which Galkinga smoked. Whether this be a fact, a rhetorical way of saying that his tribe were new comers, or evidence as to the age of the pipe, I know not. The Samoyed call them *Aüa* =*Younger brothers*. The Russians apply the name Dolganen to all the three tribes. As a general rule, they are Pagans, a few only being converted to Christianity. They live on friendly terms, as their name denotes, with the Samoyeds.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

The Mongols of the Russian Empire.—Six Kalka Tribes.—The Buriats.—The Kalmuks.

THE Buriat area begins in the parts about Nizhni Udinsk, to the east of the Lena, and extends to the country of the Khorin and Barguzin tribes (both of which it includes) beyond Lake Baikal. It is bounded on the south by the Chinese frontier, beyond which few or no Buriats are to be found; the Mongols of the northern parts of China and Mongolia, in the proper sense of the term being Kalkas. Nevertheless, either the whole or a part of six Kalka tribes is to be found within the Russian boundary. These are the Dzongol, the Ashe-khabat, the Tabung-gut, the Sartol, the Atagan, and the Katshagan.

The Buriats amount to about one hundred and ninety thousand souls; some few being Mahometans, some Christians, some Shamanists, the majority Buddhists.

Upon the blood of the great Mongol armies, which in the thirteenth century cut their way from the wall of China to the frontiers of Thuringia, the armies of Tshingiz-Khan and his successors, more will be said in the sequel. At present it is enough to say what manner of men these sudden and formidable conquerors were as warriors.

To war they were trained by almost every act of their ordinary life. To a man they were horsemen. To a man, to a woman, to a child, they were feeders on the flesh and milk of the horse. From the latter they brewed an intoxicating liquor called *kumiss*. Some of the tribes may have brewed beer. This I infer from a notice of one of them, that they drank a liquor made from grain. Some of them were Hamaxobii; living in huts made of felt, moved about on wagons drawn by oxen: easily put together, easily taken to pieces, easily transferred from place to place. The women, famous for their chastity, took charge of them. Meanwhile, when not engaged in war, the men hunted and hawked; nor did either the

Mongol or the Mantshu Khans, when Emperors of China, allow the ease and luxury of their silken palaces to withdraw them altogether from the chase. One of the Mantshu emperors was not only a hunter, but a writer, who described the beauties of his great hunting-ground, to the north of the Great Wall, in Mantshuria. Camels' flesh, also, was eaten by them—then and now. With tastes of this kind it was no hard matter to carry their commissariat with them; and this is what they did. There was one horse to ride on, and as many as eighteen, for either relays or food. Under the pressure of extreme hunger it was bled, and the warm blood drunk as it flowed from his veins. After the fashion of the Parthian they discharged their arrows whilst galloping at full speed; and that either in advance or retreat. The chief weapon was the bow, just as it was that of the first Magyars; next to the bow, the iron mace, next to the iron mace the spear. When a march was to be made, a company was drafted off from the main body, and sent on two days in advance, whilst other bodies prevented surprises by keeping guard on each flank, and in the rear. To every ten men, for the organization was pre-eminently decimal, an officer; to every hundred men, a centurion; to every ten centurions, a chiliarch; to every ten chiliarchs, a commander of ten thousand. The company of ten was a *tuk;* the company of one hundred a *tuman.*

Of the Mongol dynasty in China but little is known; much of that little being found only in the classical work of the Mongol language; the history by Sanang Seetzen, an Ortu, of real, or supposed royal blood, and, in the treatment of his subject, an analogue of the monkish historians of medieval Europe. He is a Buddhist; who begins with the beginning of the world and ends with the Mantshu conquest of China. After the downfall of the Yuen, and the establishment of the Ming dynasty, there was a state of anarchy amongst the Mongols, and the existence of the Buddhist religion was endangered. Little in the way of detail is known of the early creed; except that there was a basis of Shamanism, not yet extinct, with a mixture of Fire-worship, and (perhaps) of Christianity. The old paganism, however, up-reared itself for a while, and the Shamans confronted the Buddhists. A sketch of more than one controversy is preserved. The Mantshu conquest, however, restored an approach to order.

The *Kalmuks* of the Russian Empire are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Government of Astrakan . . . . . | 87,556 |
| ——————— Caucasus . . . . . | 20,591 |
| ——————— Saratov . . . . . | 692 |
| ——————— Stavropol . . . . . | 10,223 |
| Total . . . . . | 119,162 |

to which we may add some in Samar, some in the Don Kosak country, some in Orenburg, and an offset in the Crimea.

The warlike aptitudes and migratory propensities of the stock, as shown up to a comparatively late period, may be found in the history of these tribes; tribes belonging to the Ulut branch, and to the Durbet and Torgod divisions of it. In the seventeenth century, a period of trouble and disturbance, more than one section of the Mongols gave up its precarious independence for the protection of either Russia or China. Of those who betook themselves to Russia the first were certain *Torgods*, A.D. 1630. They reached Astrakan, attacked it, and were repulsed with the loss of their khan, who was killed. His son, who succeeded him, ruled for a time as an independent sovereign, but finally made over his authority to Russia. In 1700–1703 a *Durbet* migration took place, and that in the same direction. One of the leaders of these movements was Aniki Khan, who assisted Peter the Great against Persia. He also sent thirty thousand men as allies of Elizabeth, to the Crimea, where their descendants remain to this day. He had previously fought against the Nogays. So lived Aniki Khan: himself independent; but not the father of an independent dynasty. His successors were mere puppets of Russia, who had their titles ratified at St. Petersburg.

By 1771 discontent had arisen, and, to coin a new word, a large, though partial, *re*-migration was effected through the succession of seventy thousand families. They left their Russian occupancy against the will of the Russians and were followed by a Russian army. They found no friends in the countries through which they passed; but, on the contrary, bitter enemies, who treated them as unwelcome visitors. These harassed them in their journey; and the Russians pressed upon them from behind. However, they either made or found a way, and forced themselves forwards to the frontiers of China; which, after a loss of 20,000

families, and innumerable hardships, they reached—a starved and stricken remnant. They were, however, hospitably received.

That the warlike spirit has revived since the time of Temudzhin, is shown also in the history of Galdan, the second (by a long interval) of their great warriors; who, about the middle of the last century, established a khanat independent of both China and Russia; but one which, after his death, broke up.

The Kalmuks of the Governments of Astrakan, &c., enjoy a partial independence. Their organization, like that of their brothers elsewhere, is more military than civil. There is the *ulus* and its divisions; with its commanders of one hundred, one hundred and fifty, one thousand, and four thousand tents. The name of the captain is *zaizan*, an important word, suggesting that the Sassanidæ of Persia may have been, to some extent, Mongol. There is, also, the nobility of the White Bones; and the nobility of the Black Bones. There is a fair amount of religious freedom; for the majority are Buddhists with a Lama at their head, whilst others, through the activity of the missionaries of the Greek Church, are Christians.

Some of those of Orenburg are, I believe, Mahometans; so, at least, I infer from a passage in Georgi, who says that, A.D. 1753, they were received in their present locality by the Bashkirs, and in '83 resided, to the number of about fifty families, in the neighbourhood of Tset. Their descendants are of mixed blood; for the Bashkirs allotted to the original settlers, not only pastures for their cattle, but wives. In winter they reside in fixed dwellings: in summer they move about in tents. They are said to be more Mongol than Turk in physiognomy, being big-eared and flat-faced; though this is a Bashkir characteristic. It should be added that the Bashkirs, though Turk in language, are of mixed blood; the basis of the stock being, to a large extent, Ugrian.

## CHAPTER XXV.

The Tongús.—Tshapodzhirs.—Daurians.—Lamut.—Orotshong.—Manyak.—Goldi.

THE word *Tongús*, used in the sense which it bears in the present work, is strictly ethnological. There is a general name wanted for a population in northern Asia, which falls into numerous and important divisions and sub-divisions; and this is it. To some of the tribes to which the term applies it would doubtless be intelligible: whilst others, such as the Mantshus, would, in all probability, repudiate it with indignation. The word, however, is useful, and it is used by the Russians, both in scientific works, and in ordinary language. The most western of the populations to which it applies are occupants of the Lower Tunguska; some of whom (perhaps all) call themselves *Orotshong*, and some of whom (perhaps all) are called by others *Tshapodzhir;* a word which is sufficiently conspicuous on most maps. I have given reasons elsewhere for believing this means *painted* or *tattooed.* At any rate the men who bear it tattoo themselves. For the Tungús at large there is not only no general name but nothing that approaches one. Different tribes designate themselves differently. *Donki*, which I submit is, word for word, *Tongús*, is one name: *beye*, meaning the same, another. The Mantshus call *all* the tribes beyond the confines of Mantshuria, and not the Tshapodzhirs alone, *Orotshong.* Other names indicate geographical localities. Thus the *Lamuts* are the men of the sea-coast. Meanwhile another division arises from their habits; these being determined from the domestic animal employed.

The *Horse* Tungús are those of the southern and western por-

tions of the area; these being most akin to the Buriats in their habits and civilization. The *Reindeer* Tungús are those of the north, where they come in contact with the Koriaks. The *Dog* Tungús are met with as we approach the neck of the Peninsula of Kamtshatka. The *Forest* and *Steppe* Tungús, along with the Tungús who go on foot are either sub-divisions or cross-divisions.

All the members of the Tongús class belong to either Russia or China, those of China being the Mantshus of Mantshuria. The Mantshurians, as a body, are perhaps somewhat ruder than the Mongols, and the Russian Tungús somewhat ruder than the Mantshus. As a rule, they are Shamanists, and imperfect converts to Christianity, rather than Buddhists. I am not aware that there is either much Mahometanism or many remains of the old Persian Fire-worship amongst them. With a population that has no general name, we can scarcely expect any wide diffusion of any nationality. Add to this that the land they live in is, in some parts, within the Arctic Circle, and that it extends over an enormous area. The valley of the Amur is the most favoured portion of the Tongús country, and it is here that the first signs of the Tongús civilization appear to have developed themselves.

Upon all their neighbours, with the exception of the Mongols, and perhaps the Yakuts, the Tongús (if we put the Russians out of the question) have encroached. The Tshapodzhirs, certainly, lie west of their original occupancies. In the direction of Korea the Mantshu language has extended itself. So it has in that of the Peninsula of Sakalin. The Yukahiri, of whom a short notice has been given, are well-nigh exterminated, and it is the Tungús who have done much towards exterminating them. In Kamtshatka the migration of Tungús Lamuts is still going on. How far, over and above the Mantshu Conquest of China, any members of the family have either effected conquests single-handed, or joined with others in effecting them, is an obscure question. I think, however, that in much of what is attributed to the Mongols some Mantshus took a part.

The evidence of modern writers is favourable to the energy and hardihood of even the rudest of the existing tribes. Castrèn

met with Tungús traders on the Obi, and he speaks of them as men who were enterprising enough to be expected anywhere.

The Daurians are those whose language, through a grammar of Castrèn's, is the best known. It falls into sub-dialects; the differences, however, between, even the extreme forms, is slight, and I imagine that Tshapodzhirs from the west and Mantshus from the Wall of China could understand one another. It is notably different from the Mongol, belonging to the same genus or order.

It is only for a portion of this class that I can give the statistics.

*Russian Tungús.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Yakut districts . . . . . | 13,550 |
| —— Circle of Gishiginsk . . . . . | 500 |
| —— Neighbourhood of Turuchansk . . . | 1,981 |
| —— Circle of Kirinsk . . . . . | 1,695 |
| —— Neighbourhood of Lake Baikal and the Sayanian range . . . . . | 1,706 |
| —— Circle of Verkneudinsk . . . . . | 2,395 |
| —— Nertshinsk . . . . . | 13,791 |
| Total . . . . . | 35,618 |

Of the Russian territories on the Amur (all of which are recent annexations) the details are as follows:—

| Province. | Square miles. | Natives. |
|---|---|---|
| The Amúr . . . . . | 164,000 | 5,200 |
| Usuri, Sofyevsk, and Nikolayvesk | 179,000 | 9,800 |
| Russian Sakalín . . . . . | 18,000 | 8,500 |
| | 361,000 | 23,500 |

By Russian Sakalín is meant the northern portion of that long, narrow island, which, lying in front of the mouth of the Amur, extends through no less than eight degrees of latitude, and belongs (in the upper two-thirds) to Russia, and (in its lower third) to Japan.

Arranging all these aborigines according to tribe, stock, class, or nationality, we get the following table:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Tungús Goldi | 3,560 |
| ——— Manyark and Birar | 3,000 |
| ——— Daurians | 2,000 |
| ——— Olcha, or Mangur | 1,100 |
| ——— Orotshes of the Seacoast | 1,000 |
| ——— Sakalin | 1,000 |
| ——— Orotshong of the Upper Amur | 260 |
| Koriaks (?) Gilyak | 8,180(?) |
| Kurilians, Negdals, and Mangur | 1,000 |
| Aino | 1,000 |
| Chinese | 1,400 |
| | 23,500 |

Of these, the Daurians and the Orotshong are mere continuations of the population of the parts about Nertshinsk; the others, however, have a variety of differential characteristics. The *Manyarg*, *Manyak*, *Monagir*, or *Manègre* (for in all these different manners the word is spelt), are fishermen and horse-keepers. They occupy the valley of the Dzeya and the lower levels on the left bank of the Middle Amur. They are somewhat undersized, and spare in frame, with their arms and legs weak. Nor have they the credit of being either a bold or a high-spirited population. When subject to China, they were liable to both the payment of tribute and the conscription, and, apparently, to forced labour and other oppressive exactions at the hands of the Mandarins, under whom their sense of independence was wholly crushed. As the Chinese dominion is now superseded by that of Russia, many of the hardships to which they were exposed are diminished; and the tendency to assimilate themselves to the Chinese in dress, manners, and language, has been, to some extent, arrested.

They occupy the Amur below the Orotshong, but, as they are to a great extent a population of fresh-water fishermen, when summer sets in, they ascend the stream. The sturgeon and beluga are the fishes that they most value, and it is with the harpoon or the snare that they take them. The roe is sold to the Russians; or, rather, it is bartered for rye-meal.

It is in the use of the horse rather than the reindeer; in the occupancy of a level or undulating country rather than a moun-

tain-chain; in a greater tincture of Chinese civilization, and in a more submissive demeanour, that the Manyak chiefly differs from the Orotshong.

The *Goldi*, like their nearest congeners, the Orochis of the sea-coast, have slightly adopted the fashion of the Mantshus. In general, the hair is tied up in a bunch, and either hangs loosely down the neck, or is plaited. Neither beard nor moustache is encouraged; nor, if it were allowed to grow, would either be plentiful. In some cases, however, the fashion of shaving the head has been adopted. In like manner, the dress is after the Chinese fashion, even though it be made of dog-skin or fish-skin. And here it may be remarked, that these are the countries where the skins of fishes are most especially made subservient to the toilette. Having taken a large fish, the Goldi skin it skilfully, and beat the skin with a mallet until the scales come off, and the thick, oily corium becomes supple. In a dress of this kind they defy snow, mist, and rain. The belt bears an elaborate *chatelaine*, consisting of a knife, a tinder-box, a whetstone, a needle-case, and a prong for cleaning-out their pipes. Their leggings, for stockings they can hardly be called, like their hats, are made of the bark of the birch tree. Both sexes tattoo the face. In the summer, they hunt such game as serves for food in the winter, the hunt is mainly for the fur-bearing animals. In their buildings, as in their wardrobe, and in their boats as in their buildings, the bark of the birch tree plays a conspicuous part. The smaller boats carry one man who works it with a paddle. The larger ones, well adapted for navigating the shallows of the river, are from twelve to twenty feet long, and carry sails. The staunchest of all are hollowed out of the trunks of trees. The huts are sometimes square, sometimes conical, sometimes in the shape of a bee-hive. In fishing, they use the hook, the net, and a harpoon with a bladder attached to it; the nets being made of hemp or nettles. Many fish are caught in weirs, elaborately constructed.

There is no want of skill in metallurgy, though neither iron nor charcoal is abundant. One of the birds which is occasionally brought into a state of imperfect domestication is the eagle; which they use as a sort of watch-dog to protect their fish, whilst hung up to dry in the sun, against the smaller and more ignoble birds. Like so many other inhabitants of lands that are likely to be

flooded, their permanent habitations are villages rather than houses, containing from thirty to forty individuals. In the way of creed they are Shamanists; Tanya and Panya being the names of two of their gods.

There is a distinct deity for every disease, and, in a like manner, a distinct charm as a remedy. Thus, a bandage round the head, with images of serpents, toads, and other animals, is an amulet against a headache. Another mode of cure consists in wearing an image of the part diseased. If we did this in England, a man with a heart-burn would wear a little heart round his neck.

Corpses are buried, and, where it can be afforded, a hut is erected over the grave. Near these are hung up nets, bows, and spears. Near them, too, stands a wooden idol, whose face is besmeared with oil. When poverty forbids interment, the coffin is simply lodged in the fork of a tree. The father chooses the son's wife whilst the son is still a child, and the intended bride lives with her future husband and her future parents-in-law until she grows up. Polygamy, though not general, is allowed; and when one out of two brothers dies, the survivor takes the widow with the estate.

Their pursuits and amusements are manly. It is needless to say that they venture boldly on the water and boldly in the forest. We have seen that they take the eagle, or, rather, the osprey, and tame it. This, however, they do in a very unsportsmanlike manner. They watch the bird to its nest, and wait till the young birds are just able to fly; they then fell the tree and steal the nestlings. Bears, too, they domesticate, and keep in sties or cages, each village having its bear and the sty in which they keep him. He is an important element in their religion, and is distinguished as the *chief*, whilst the tiger is called the *black chief*. To take a bear alive is more dangerous and more honourable than to kill him. When brought home to his sty, he is fed upon fish, and led forth on high festivals. To get him out, they open the roof, teaze him till he stands on his hind legs, sling a rope round his body, and pull him upwards. On great occasions he is killed and eaten. After the festival the skull and ears are hung-up on a tree. Besides the bear and eagle, the horned owl, the jay, the hawk, and the kite, though not domesticated, are encouraged to keep about the huts. Of horses, they have few;

of cats, few; of dogs and pigs, many; the latter being fed for the most part with fish. One of their amusements is wrestling. In carving they show some skill; and in the arrangement of colours some taste. Of their songs we know nothing in the way of detail; we only know that they exist, and that the taste for music is not below that of other rude nations.

There are a few members of the Orotshong division of the Tungús in the island of Sakalin; the names under which I find them described being *Orotshi*, and *Orotsko*—mere variations of Orotshong. It is towards the middle of the island that these Orotshi lie, and it is on the eastern coast that they are the most numerous. With the Giliaks on the north, and the Aino on the south, they are the subjects of Russia, rather than Japan. They expose their dead, like the Orotshis of Castries Bay; indeed, in all respects they seem to be ordinary Orotshongs. The reindeer, rather than the dog, is their domestic animal; and a man who owns twelve of them is rich.

The *Giliaks* belong to the Shang-moa-tze, or Long-hairs, but we cannot infer from this that they are a bearded class of men. It may be that the word only means that they are to be distinguished from the Twang-moa-tze, or the men who shave their heads. The descriptions give them more hair than the Tungús and less than the Aino. The Smerenkur on the west, and the Tro on the east coast of Sakalin are mentioned, *iis nóminibus*, as Giliak tribes. The Olcha, or Manguns, for which Ravenstein suggests that Fiake and Lerkoye are the Chinese names, are, probably, Giliak in blood if not in language. The Tsiler, whom the same writer identifies with the Kiyakla, are in the same category. The Kilerkhaji on the Upper Goun seem to be, name for name, Giliaks.

The Giliaks of the Amur, or the Giliaks of the continent, occupy thirty-nine villages, or one hundred and forty houses, and are put at one thousand six hundred and eighty individuals. Those of the northern, or Russian, part of Sakalin are put at about eight thousand five hundred. This, however, is only an inferential approximation. Those under Japan have been reckoned at two thousand eight hundred and fifty.

Laying aside the doubtful members of the class, such as the Olcha and Negda, we find the first Giliaks a little below the

town of Pul; whence they stretch, on each side of the Amur, until they reach its mouth. Their limits in Sakalin are, on the west coast, the village of Polyavo in 50° 10′ N. L. and 50° 30′ E. L. on the east coast. They dress partly in fish-skins, partly in Chinese cottons. Like the Tungús they build large store-houses or piles, and keep bears in sties or cages. Ermines are kept instead of cats. Polyandria is one of the institutions; and the *vendetta*, or blood-feud, another. They murdered the missionary De la Brunière for the sake of the few chattels he had with him, and have the credit of being rapacious wreckers—are Shamanist in creed, and either venerate, or fear, fire. A Giliak will not allow it to be taken from his hut, or even a pipe to be lit at his hearth. Bad luck in hunting or fishing would ensue. The dead are burnt, and a wooden hut is erected over the ashes, to which, from time to time, small offerings of fish, or tobacco, are made. After two years the hut is pulled down. The favourite dog of the deceased, previously fattened for the occasion, is killed at the grave. The tiger is an object of special dread, and a man killed by one is buried on the spot where he lies without further ceremony.

That Giliak is, word for word, Koriak I have little doubt; and I also think that the Giliaks and Koriaks, until disconnected by the intrusive Tungús, were members of one and the same class; a class which gives us a family which, at an early period, may have reached as far south as the northern frontier of China. This is an inference from something more than the mere similarity of name. We have not, at the very most, twenty words of the Giliak language. Ten are given in a short list of Tronson's. They consist of the numerals, and are Tongus. They may possibly make the men who used them Tongus; but they may also show that the language is not the true Giliak. This limits us to four words in Ravenstein: of which one, the term for the first numeral, is Koriak. That this fortifies the inference drawn from the similarity of name and habits, along with the presumptions suggested by the geography, is all that can be said. Still, it is something.

The Giliaks are partially independent; and, being this, they suggest the name of another population, undoubtedly Koriak, which is wholly so.

Independence of Russia is such a rare phenomenon in Siberia

that I add a short notice of it. Of the Shamanism that accompanies it a description is given by Wrangell; but Shamanism is so much alike all the world over, that I pretermit this for the following more particular notice of Dittmar: little being known about the population to which it applies from any other quarter.

The name is *Tshuktshi*, and, as has been stated, the Tshuktshi are Koriaks under another name, or *vice versâ*; differing from the ordinary Koriaks in being mountaineers, in occupying a district beyond the tree-line, and in having preserved along with their independence a greater amount of their original manners and superstitions. For savages they have the concurrent evidence of numerous isolated and independent observers in their favour. Those who know most about them are the Russian traders from Anadyrsk or Nizhni Kolymsk, with whom they are now content to deal on friendly terms; though, until an agreement was made with them in 1817, it was dangerous for a stranger to set foot in their territory. There was trade; but the fairs were resorts of danger, and business was done between the traders with arms in the hands of both parties. There was trade; but a bloody quarrel was the usual end of it. The love, however, of war is fully satisfied. As in most rude populations the *vendetta*, or the law of blood for blood, is paramount. The land is large, and the divisions and subdivisions of its occupants small; between any two of which there may as easily be a chronic state of warfare as between two great States. Their wealth, writes Dittmar after Trifanow, consists to a great extent in their skins, but more in their plunder. Poverty, however, in some quarters must be the only end of a system like this, so that we must read the word *wealth* with a reservation. In war, however, or in peace, they are brave and energetic; ever ready to fight, ever willing to barter. And all their amusements are warlike. At their great feasts their games are make-believe battles, and the coward or thief finds, on such occasions, the time for his punishment. He is brought forward to be jeered and insulted. Scores of rein-deer are then slaughtered: indeed, it is the herds of reindeer that make the Tshuktshi chiefs. With these their hospitality is unbounded. When a rich deer-owner is visited he has a great killing; out of which he supplies both himself and his guests. The victims are parted into four divisions: each for one of the points of the compass. Those deer

that are turned to the east for stabbing go to the master of the feast: the others (three-fourths of them) belong to the guests.

Wherever there are rein-deer, the wild beast that is pre-eminently either dreaded or hated is the wolf. When a Tshuktshi kills a wolf he entertains his friends; but no wolf is killed by shooting. To be killed with propriety he must fall in a hand-to-hand combat. Superstition rather than sportmanship is at the bottom of this; for the wolf is looked upon as an evil demon and also as a mischievous beast. Skilful with the bow and spear, the Tshuktshi are equally so with the harpoon against the whale and walrus.

Of the two divisions, the reindeer-owners are the chief; and it is only from poverty arising out of the loss of his herds that a Tshuktshi betakes himself to the settled life of a fisherman. In this we have an exact repetition of the difference between the hillman and the fisherman in Lapland.

Polygamy and Shamanism we expect and find. The institution that the sick and aged must either anticipate death by self-murder or be killed by their relations we believe on evidence.

When the breath is out of the body it is burned.

The good god is *Lpapel;* but it is the bad deities who command the most sacrifices, and it is the bad deities whom sacrifice is supposed to propitiate.

The centre of Tshuktshi country is the watershed between the Kolyma and the Anadyr. In the town of Anadyrsk there are a few Russians. Higher up the river about two hundred Yukahiri still represent that decaying stock. At the mouth of the Anadyr and about Tshuktshi Noss, the Namollos, a branch of the Eskimo, have settled. But the centre of the true independent Tshuktshi—the Tshuktshi that the Russians find it wise to leave alone—is the backbone of the drainage of the Anadyr.

The Russians divide them into the Tummen Tshuktshi, and the Tshuktshi of the White Sea.

The chief fair is held on the Little Anuy, about 300 versts from Nizhni Kolymsk. The Tshuktshi call this the fifth Beaver Fair. The fourth is held on Behring's Straits; but the whereabouts of the other three is a mystery which those who draw over-broad distinctions between the Old and New Worlds, and fancy that the separation between them is as plain and as notable in the parts about Behring's Straits as it is on the two sides of the

Atlantic, will do well to note. They lie in some distant district of North America. The Russians know nothing about them. The Tshuktshi only know that they are in America, and that the American settlers at the fourth fair buy in the other three. The name *Kargavali*, too, is known. It is with the Kargavali that there is a regular business and an equally regular system of warfare. They barter spear in hand.

Of these independent Tshuktshi the number is put by Trifanow, the authority of the present author's authority, at ten thousand, rather more than less; a large number for a nomad population in such a country.

One of the few Englishmen who have described the Tshuktshi from personal intercourse with them is the late Lieutenant Hooper who acted under Captain Kellart in the Franklin expedition. He passed some time among them. A good observer, and one disposed to take a kindly view of the savage virtues, he found in them much to admire; simplicity, straightforwardness, and great hospitality, so that his picture of them is more favourable than that drawn by the Russians.

It should be remembered, however, that it was with the Tshuktshi of the extreme east that he came in contact.

Upon one point, however, all observers are agreed, viz. that they are very like the American Indians of the opposite coast; the Indians of the extreme north; the Indians of the Athabaskan stock, especially the Loucheux or Kutshin.

That they are, for Siberians, a strong and vigorous people, is clear, and it is by the Tshuktshi that the small remnant of the Yukahiri will probably be absorbed; just as it was by the Tshuktshi that their extinct congeners the Omoki and others were either displaced or amalgamated. On the Koriak frontier they graduate into the Koriaks, and, probably, on the north-east into the Lutorzi or Olutorians

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### The Aleutian Islands.

THE present short chapter is written in order to illustrate a point of general ethnology, rather than to supply any notable facts concerning the political elements of the Russian empire. The long range of islands which runs from the extremity of Kamtshatka to the peninsula of Aliaska connects, as far as a series of islands can be said to form a connection, the new world with the old; America with Asia. And along this line I consider that the stream of population ran. It may have run along other lines besides; across, for instance, Behring's Straits. The movement, too, may have begun elsewhere than in Kamtshatka; in the Kurile Islands, in Korea, or even in Japan. Nevertheless, one immediate link was the chain under notice. As long as we knew little of America, except on the side of the Pacific, the relation between the two continents was uncertain; and even now those who have paid but little attention to the great mass of facts which has recently been brought to bear on the Pacific side of North America may doubt the accuracy of the doctrine here maintained. The more, however, it is investigated the more satisfactory it seems.

That the language of the Aleutian Islands, of which Unalashka is both the most important and the best known, belongs to the Great Eskimo class, is now a familiar fact with philologues. The present writer, however, whilst he admits it, thinks that it has been exaggerated. The Aleutian, as a division in a class, is, at least, equal to all the rest put together. What he thinks of more importance is its affinity with the Kamtshatkan; of which, in a work like the present, he finds room for only a single instance. The numerals supply it.

Here, the Kamtshatkan for *one* is *dysyk*, which seems to be, word

for word, the *ataudzek* of Kadiak, the *atuutshek* of the Kuskutshewak, and the *attausek* of Labrador; the Unalashkan word being different.

In the second place, the Kamtshatkan and Eskimo, in certain compound numbers above *five*, agree in placing the smaller number first. In the former language *seven* is 1 + 6, rather than 6 + 1; whilst in the latter—

Seven = 3 + 4.
Eight = 3 + 5 (apparently).
Nine = 5 with an additional element.
Ten = 5 × 2 = or 2 hands; as *hand* = 5.

Upon this, however, I lay but little stress, noting it only for the sake of what follows. The Kamtshatkan for *seven* is *etakhtana*, a word evidently compound, and one delivering two smaller numbers in combination. Yet the Kamtshatkan itself would not supply these words, where—

| | |
|---|---|
| One = *dysyk.* | Four = *tshaak.* |
| Two = *kaas.* | Five = *kúmnak.* |
| Three = *tsúk.* | Six = *kylkoak.* |

The real matter of importance is the fact of the Unalashkan for *one* being *atoken*, and for *six* being *atun*, giving, on the principle of putting the smaller number first, *atoken-atun*, a word far too like *etaktana* to be accidentally so.

If this be true, the Unalashkan gives us the elements of a certain Kamtshatkan numeral, though not the numeral itself; a fact which puts borrowing far out of the question.

Nor is this the only instance of this kind. The Yukahiri gives a similar instance. In that language the words for *six* and *eight* are *malheyalon* and *malhielekhon* respectively = *four* (*yekalon*) + *two*, and *four* × *two*. Yet no such word as *mal*, or *maluk* = *two*, is found in Yukahiri. Where are they found? In Labrador, and in the parts about Vancouver's Island, where *marruk* and *maluik* are the ordinary words for those numerals. This is as if, in English, we counted up to *five* in the ordinary way, and then for *seven* or *eight* used compounds of *brace* (or *pair*) and *leash*; a fact which ought to read a lesson to those who imagine that a mere cursory inspection of the numerals is sufficient for the purposes of ethnographical philology.

The population of the Aleutian chain is small; the greater part

of it being in Unalashka. It is more akin to that of Kadiak and the Aliaskan peninsula than to any other district. It is Eskimo; yet an Aleutian, like an Aliaskan, is a much more powerful individual, bodily and mentally, than one of Labrador or Greenland. He is much more like an American Indian, much more like a Siberian Asiatic. He is a favourable specimen of that division of mankind of which the ordinary Eskimo is an unfavourable one. He has maritime and commercial aptitudes; is warlike; is often a slave-holder. His blood is mixed largely with that of the Russians. Aleutians, since the Russian occupancy, have migrated as far south as Sitka. They have been converted to an imperfect Christianity, and have learned some of the easier European trades. Little, however, is known about the minuter details of their original Paganism; which, in all probability, closely resemble those of the Aliaskans, the Kadiak Islanders, and the tribes of the mainland of North America.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### Russian America.

A STRAIGHT line drawn due north from Mount St. Elias to the Arctic Sea, separates Russian from British America. But beyond this, a strip of coast, carrying with it the opposite islands and archipelagoes, and running as far south as 55° N.L., is Russian also.

With boundaries as artificial as these we expect what we find, viz. that certain tribes of the frontier are as much British as Russian.

Of these the most important are the following members of that particular division of the Athabaskan family, known as Loucheux, Digothi, and Kutshin, this last being the term used by Sir John Richardson, the chief authority.

The particular Kutshin tribes which, on evidence more or less satisfactory, may be placed within the Russian frontier, are the following:—

1. The *Artez-Kutshi*, or the *tough* (*hard*) *people*.

The sixty-second parallel cuts their country; so that they lie between the head waters of the Yukon and the Pacific. The evidence that they extend over the frontier is not quite conclusive. I infer, however, that they do.

2. The same applies to the *Tshu-Kutshi*, or *People of the Water*. The banks of Deep River give us their occupancy; but Deep River is common to both the Russian and British territory. Number 100.

3. The *Tathsey-Kutshi*, or *People of the Ramparts*, the *Gens du Fou* of the French Canadians, are spread from the upper parts of the Peel and Porcupine rivers, within the British territory, to the river of the mountain-men, in the Russian. The Upper Yukon is, therefore, their occupancy. They fall into four bands, (*a.*) the *Tratsè-Kutshi*, or *People of the Fork of the River;*

(*b.*) the *Kutsha Kutshi;* (*c.*) the *Zèkà-thaka-zi-unka-Kutshi, people on this side* (or *Middle People*); and (*d.*) the *Tanna-Kutshi,* or *people of the bluffs.*

Numbers of men of the Kutsha-Kutshi . . . . 90
——————————— Ziunka-Kutshi . . . . 20
——————————— Tanna-Kutshi . . . . 100

4. The *Teytsè-Kutshi* (*People of the Shelter*) number about one hundred men, and dwell about the influx of the Russian river; whilst nearer still to the mouth of the Yukon, and (probably) conterminous with the Eskimo Kusketshevak, are—

5. The *Thlagga-silla,* or *Little Dogs.* Of

6. 7. The *Vanti-Kutshi* (*People of the Lakes*), with eighty, and the *Myetse Kutshi* (*People of the Open Country*) with forty men, I only find that they belong to the Porcupine River, a river partly British and partly Russian.

The *Nehanni* are in the same class; or, at any rate, not very distant from them. They lie between the Stikin River and the Rocky Mountains; a brave and warlike people, much dreaded by their neighbours. The summer they pass near the sea; the winter in the interior, acting as factors middlemen, or cadgers, according to the dignity with which we invest their system of truck and barter between the Russians and the inland tribes. They are robbers and slaveholders as well. Though I have seen no specimen of the Nehanni language, *eo nomine,* I have little hesitation in connecting them with the Kutshin.

At Cook's Inlet, or Kenay Bay, the continuous Eskimo area ends; for it will be seen in the sequel that the Kenays belong to a different family. At Prince William's Sound, however, a little further south, it is believed to begin again. At any rate, it is here that we find the *Tshugatsi,* who state, that in consequence of some internal quarrels, they migrated from Kadiak. They are more like the Indians than the Eskimo, a fact which Sir John Richardson attributes to intermixture.

The Athabaskan *Konægi,* however, of the Island of Kadiak are now under notice. One of their customs is that of treating a certain number of males as if they belonged to the opposite sex. They are dressed as females. Their place in the houshold is that of females. They are, however, more respected than the Konægi wives themselves. Happy is the man that has one of them in his establishment.

They are called Aknutshik, and it often happens that a child is destined to be an Aknutshik from his birth. This is the case when a girl has been expected but a boy is born. The infant of the unwelcome or unexpected sex is, from his infancy upwards, treated as a female. Such was the custom when Davidov wrote, *i. e.* in 1790. Such is the custom at the present time; though it is made more or less of a secret. "Do you see that woman?" said Holmberg's interpreter to him on the island of Lyesnoi; "do you see that woman? That woman is a man." This was told mysteriously.

The probation that the Kadiak virgins undergo, when approaching the period of nubility, is of more than ordinary severity. It reminds us of some of the prisons of the middle-ages, where the miserable victim of some tyrannical suspicion was placed in an apartment too short to stretch his limbs on, and too low to stand upright in. Such existed in Venice, such in France and Germany. Such a crib, cabin, or cage, is made for the Konægi maiden. She can neither stand nor lie. With bowed back and knees drawn-up she is therein confined for the incredible space of half-a-year. At the end of this time she has given her—her liberty? No. She has given her a little more room. The walls are heightened and the floor of her prison room lengthened. And so she lives half-a-year longer. When all is over, she returns to her parents and her return is celebrated by a feast.

The dead are wrapped in a seal-skin and buried, and along with them some of the best furs of the deceased;—also his arrows, and, occasionally, his canoe. The attendant relatives stand over the grave to sing and howl in turns; their songs being to the honour of the departed, praising him for his skill in hunting or any other quality equally laudable and real. His widow, if she can afford it, gives a great feast. The mourners cut their hair, and blacken their faces. The dead man himself becomes a spirit. If he show himself to any of his kindred so much the better for the ghost-seer. The house in which a death has taken place, is declared uninhabited for all future time.

If a Shaman die, his body is placed in a canoe, and the canoe is left above ground; either on some conspicuous projection of a rock or the trunk of a tree.

Shlyam Shoa is the lord and master of the world. He created the earth and the sky. There was sky and earth, but no light.

Shlyam Shoa, then, placed a brother and sister upon the earth, and forbid them to eat grass.

The sister ate it, transgressing the commandments of Shlyam Shoa: for she said to her brother, "Peradventure there will be light if we eat grass."

But the brother said that if the light came they would see that they were naked and be ashamed. However, the sister ate of the grass, and there was light.

And they were ashamed; the brother of the sister and the sister of the brother. Whereupon they departed from one another, each going their own way.

Nevertheless, they were ashamed; for they found no hiding-place on earth.

And when they found no hiding-place on earth, they betook themselves to the sky and went up the ladder that led thereto.

And they met each other on the ladder, and they loved each other. And five children were born to them; and they all died.

And when the sixth was about to be born, Shlyam Shoa appeared to them, and said, "Why are ye sorrowful?" And they answered, "Because all the children that are born to us perish."

"Sorrow no more," said Shlyam Shoa, "for I will sing you a song and children shall be born to you, and they shall live."

So children were born to them, and they lived, and they, with their parents, dwelt upon the earth and became the ancestors of the race of men.

Such is the Kadiak view of the creation of mankind; a view which I believe to be neither more nor less than so much Scripture introduced by some early missionary and perverted. To the same source I refer the belief in a flood by which the whole of mankind was destroyed; though how it was re-constituted is not known.

Sacrifices are made to Shlyam Shoa of the seal, the sea-otter, or some similar animal; especially when the chase has been more than usually successful.

When Shlyam Shoa is angry, he sends two dwarfs to cause thunder and lightning.

When the volcanoes of the Aliaskan Peninsula are in action, men of more than mortal mould are supposed to be either cooking their food or warming their baths.

The name of the Evil Deity is Tyak. He lives underground, and is the inspirer of the Shamans.

The *Atnas* of the Copper River are in contact with the Alughanik and the Northern Kolush, with whom they drive a trade and keep amicable relations. Those that are noticed in Bäer consist of no more than sixty families, of peaceable, quiet, commercial, and not unindustrious men and women. Their country was the country of the copper ore; which they worked, after a rude fashion, previous to their contact with the Russians. From them, they learnt the value, if not the metallurgic management, of iron; so that the Russians call them Ketshetni, or Iron-men. The Atna year consists of fifteen months; fifteen made out of the ordinary twelve. Of these, ten belong to the winter, five to the summer, season. They have no names; but are known simply as the First, Second, Fourteenth or Fifteenth; a fact that shows that the Atna numeration is raised above, at least, the lowest level; since, in some parts of the Old, as well as the New, World, it would puzzle the aborigines to count up to five.

The summer begins and ends with a migration and a hunting season; the reindeer being, in both cases, the object; the reindeer, which is, next to fish, the chief food of the Atnas—food and raiment as well. Beads of glass are the favourite ornament. For these they most willingly barter their peltries. The more an Atna has of such beads the richer he is; and, when he dies, he has his treasure buried with him, along with a charge to his heir to increase the store. Sometimes they are simply hoarded underground during the possessor's lifetime.

Like their neighbours, the Atnas are slave-holders. Living such a life as this, they must, perforce, be liable to all the afflictions of famine and its attendant diseases. The venison or the fish, or both, may fall short of their necessities. They did so in 1828, and no less than one hundred adults, besides children, died off.

A branch of the same stock occupies the head-waters of the Copper River, and the watershed between it and the Kuskokwim. It seems to be the least known of the whole group. It seems, indeed, not to be known at all, at first-hand. The Atnas speak of the tribes to their north under the name of *Koltshani*, which means *strangers*. The Kenays call them *Galzani*, which is the same

word with the similar signification of *guest.* They both agree in describing their nearest neighbours, at least, as similar to themselves in manners, and language. Further inland, however, in proportion as the Koltshani is less known, his name and reputation grow worse. The Koltshani of the Atna and Kenay frontiers, visit even the Russian settlements with reindeer, otter, and beaver skins. The Koltshani to the back of them, are reputed to be cannibals. They all quarrel with one another—tribe and tribe; but the Koltshani of the interior are said to be the cruellest. They all, too, deal in slaves, which the Atnas, amongst others, purchase.

In this, no doubt, lies one of the causes of their chronic state of warfare; for when a Koltshani captain dies, his tribesmen kill a slave at his burial.

They are certainly a rude population in the eyes of the communities of the sea-coast; yet it may be that they are only so in appearance. The badness of their character bears a definite ratio to their distance. The frontagers are men you can deal with in the way of trade. The inlanders are cruel cannibals. The tribes at the back of these have tails. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is the ideal history of some dozen of tribes in different parts of both the Old and New Worlds.

One of these Koltshani tribes is named, by the Kenays at least, Titlogat; another Nutatlgat; the *gat* being, probably, the same as *-kait*, and *-kit* in the previous lists. Intna, too, and Inkuluklait are Koltshani names; the tribes who bear them being occupants of the Chulitna, Kwikpak, and Kuskokwim rivers. It is the Inkuluklait who are the nearest neighbours to Forts Alexander and Michael; strong men, and bold warriors, capable of holding their own against the Kuskokwim Eskimo, though far inferior in numbers. Their dances are warlike; they brandish their knives and javelins as they sing or shout *cha! cha i ohole! hole!* their bodies being daubed with red, and beplastered with swansdown, Kolush fashion. They clothe themselves comfortably, and reside in wooden huts like those of the Russians; barter their peltries for iron and copper; paddle about their lakes and rivers in small canoes; and use bowls of wood and pots of earthenware in their cookery. Their canoes carry two men and can be carried by one.

The next population, that of the *Inkalit*, is intermediate to the coastmen and the men of the interior; big-bodied, brown-skinned, disfigured by the tattoo—the men more than the women. The latter are satisfied with two blue marks down the chin. The former slit their lips. The latter braid their strong black hair in plaits which hang on each side of the face and are ornamented with glass beads—the favourite ornament of so many of these north-western tribes. The former wear their hair closer, using a sharp stone to clip, crop, or shave it with. The beaver supplies the greater part of their dress, which is warm and strong. So are their houses: indeed the Inkalit village of Amluktakpak, on the Kwikpak, and on the Kenay and Eskimo frontiers, contains as many as seven hundred inhabitants. Their crockery is coloured green, red, or blue; their canoes made out of the rind of the birch-tree; their sledges drawn by dogs. The Anwigmut and Magimut belong to the Inkalit division. Such, at least, is the statement of Baer. In Holmberg the Magimut are not mentioned: whilst the Anwigmut are placed amongst the Yugulmut.

*Alughanik* is a name which I now use for the first time. I hope correctly and conveniently. I find it in Holmberg, as the designation of the only member of the *Ugalents* class, a class upon which, under that or some similar name, a good deal has, at different times, been written. In the Mithridates they are called Ugyalyachmutsi, an Eskimo form, but not a convenient one. In Baer there are the Ugalenzen. Alughanik, however, seems the correcter term.

Call them, however, what we will, we shall find them between the mouth of the Copper River and Mount St. Elias, in contact with the Tshugatsi, the Atnas and the Yakutat, from all of whom they are distinguished by all the chief authorities; the language being the chief point of difference. They are well-known at Fort Constantine, whither they resort with their beaver-skins; for the Alughanik country is a great beaver locality. They bear a good name, being friendly and tractable. There are but few, however, of them—not more, probably, than forty families. They change their residence with the season; in summer fixing themselves on the eastern mouth of the Copper River, in winter on a little arm of the sea further westwards.

The Alughanik live together in families; from two to six to

the house. Each has its quarter along the wall, along with a share in the common fire-place, which is in the middle of a wooden (and not an ill-built) cabin.

Their creed is that of the Yakutat and the Kolosh rather than that of the Atnas or Tshugatsi; such, at least, is the ordinary statement. With the Yakutat they are specially and closely allied.

There was once a time when the world was not, and when men lived in darkness. One of these was a Thlinketh, who had a wife and a sister. So much did he love the former that he allowed her to do nothing whatever, save sit in idleness, either in his hut or on a little hill near it. So she sat, and she had about her eight little red birds, such as live now in California. Whenever she spoke, one of these flew off to her husband to tell him what she had spoken about; so jealous was he in regard to her, and so curious to know all she did. Worse still. He was a great carpenter, and skilful in making canoes; and, one day, when he went out into the wood, he made a great box, and locked up his poor wife inside it. Meanwhile, his sister had got married, and had borne children. But the miserable uncle was jealous of these also; for he fancied that, as fast as they grew up to man's estate, they cast looks on his wife. So he used to pretend to take them a-fishing with him, and, when he had got them into his boat, push out till out of sight of land, and then sink them. The sad mother was, one evening, walking along the side of the sea, and crying for the loss of her dear children, when she saw a shoal of dolphins. Some said they were whales; but the mother said they were dolphins. Whatever they were they pitied her; and one sat upon his tail, and talked to her. It asked her why she grieved, and, having heard that it was for the loss of her children, gave her the following advice:—

"Jump into the sea, dive to the bottom, bring up a stone, swallow it, and then drink sea-water."

She did so, and, eight months afterwards, brought forth a son, whom she took to be but an ordinary mortal, but who was, in reality, Yeshl. All the while that she was bearing him, she hid herself from her brother.

As soon as he was able to go about, his mother taught him to shoot, and so good an archer did he become, that he killed humming-birds enough to make a coat of. One morning, he saw a new and strange bird. It had a long beak, like a magpie; but not a magpie's beak. The beak was long, and bright like metal. It was a kutsgatushl or crane, and it could fly up to the sky. Yeshl shot it, skinned it, pulled its skin over his own, and became able to fly. And up he flew—far away into the clouds, into which his bill stuck and held him fast. He was long before he freed himself, and when he got home, he took off the crane-skin and hid it.

Another time, he shot a duck, skinned it, and wore its skin. This enabled him to swim and dive.

And then he grew to be a man, and hear of his wicked uncle and dead brothers.

The wicked uncle he resolved to punish. He first went to his house whilst he was cutting wood, where he opened the box in which were kept the eight little red birds, and let them fly out and away. Home came the uncle, angry; but Yeshl sat quite quiet. At last, his uncle persuaded him to go out a-fishing with him; and, having rowed him to a deep part of the sea, full of monsters, threw him overboard, and went home. But there he found Yeshl waiting for him—not even wet.

Then he said, "There will be a flood;" and a flood there was. The water rose and rose; but Yeshl was beforehand with it and contrived to get his crane-skin and his duck-skin, which made him safe. It was easier for him to fly upwards than for the waters to keep rising and rising; so, at last, he got clear of them. But, still, he had flown too strongly, and his beak stuck in the sky a second time, and Yeshl hung by it, till the waters had covered both the tops of the trees and the mountains. At length they settled and went down. Quick and straight as an arrow did Yeshl, when the waters had sunk, shoot down from his hanging-place. But he fell on a bank of sea-weed, and would have been entangled by it and drowned, if a sea-otter had not taken him up, swum with him to the shore, and set him safe upon dry ground.

The Kolushes of Sitka, or New Archangel, are separated by the Ugalents and their congeners by their language: though even in this respect the difference has been unduly exaggerated.

An element in the mythology of these parts now calls for notice. All or most of the tribes of these parts agree in deriving their origin from one of two animals, the dog or the raven. The Tshugatsi, for instance, come from the former, the Kolush from the latter.

1.

To the northward of the peninsula of Aliaska lived a toyon, whose daughter cohabited with a male of the canine species, by whom she had five children, three males and two females. The toyon being displeased with this degenerate conduct of his daughter, took an opportunity, in the absence of her lover, of banishing her to an island in the neighbourhood. The lover, coming home and finding none of his family, grieved for a long time: at last, discovering the place of their exile, swam towards it, and was drowned on the way. The whelps in the meantime were grown up, and the mother had acquainted them with the cause of their banishment; which exasperated them so much against their grandfather, that when he came to see them they tore him to pieces. The mother, on this melancholy event, resolved to return to her native place, and gave free leave to her offspring to go wherever they chose. In consequence of this permission some went northward; while others, passing the peninsula of Aliaska, took a southerly course, and arrived at the Island of Cadiack, where they increased and multiplied, and were the founders of the present population.—*Lisiansky, Voyage Round the World*, p. 196.

2.

A raven, he said, brought the light from Heaven, while a bladder descended at the same time, in which a man and a woman were enclosed. At first this pair of human beings enlarged their dungeon by blowing, and afterwards by stretching their hands and feet; and it was thus mountains were constructed. The man, by scattering the hair of his head on the mountains, created trees and forests, in which wild beasts sprung up and increased; while the woman by making water, produced seas, and by spitting into ditches and holes, formed rivers and lakes. The woman, pulling out one of her teeth, gave it to the man, who made a knife of it; and, cutting trees with the knife, threw the chips into

the river, which were changed into fish of various kinds. At last this human pair had children; and while their first-born, a son, was playing with a stone, the stone all of a sudden was converted into an island. On this island, which was the island of Cadiack, a man and a she-dog were there placed; and it was then set afloat on the ocean, and arrived at its present situation. The man and the she-dog multiplied, and the present generation are their descendants.—*Lisiansky, Voyage Round the World*, p. 197.

The Tungaas of Queen Charlotte's Islands lead from Russian to British America.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### The Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

As far as such a thing as a natural boundary against an ambitious and intrusive Power can have any existence at all, there is a natural boundary against both the Russians and the Turks in the impracticable range of Caucasus. It is a boundary on both sides; on the northern side towards Siberia, and on the southern side towards Persia and Asia Minor. But natural boundaries are material whilst the spirit of expansion and aggression is moral; and between the two powers there is no commensuration. It is only to a certain extent that the Caucasian range has been a boundary at all; and, to a certain extent, it *has* been one: though only to a certain extent. On the south it has been encroached upon by the Persians; on the north by the Tartars first; afterwards by the Russians. It may be added, that the northern encroachments have been the most effective. On the side of Circassia the ethnological, are the exact counterparts of the physical, phenomena. The mountains on the south, continue themselves as the members of a great system, giving us little except valleys, dales, glens, forests, and streams, whereas on the north the slope is abrupt (or rather it is no slope at all), and the feet end in a flat. To use the language of the botanist, the apex of the Caucasian system is *truncate*. It is this physically, and it is this ethnologically. Where the mountains end Circassia ends also; and where the plains begin there also begins the Russian Government of Caucasus. It is Russian now. It was Scythian before it was Russian. It was, probably, Ugrian before it was Scythian. Still, according to all analogies, there was once a time when either actual Circassians or their near congeners must have extended northwards. When this was no one knows. It was at a time which transcends the historic period. Still, there was a time

when such was the case. That there were Circassians in the Crimea is a matter of positive history. But these seem to have been of recent introduction.

Notwithstanding the present truncation, an aboriginal extension of the Caucasian area northwards, abolished by an early displacement, is one of the most legitimate of ethnological hypotheses. It is also certain that the displacement began early. Before the Herodotean Scythians reached the Crimea they must, at least, have swept round the feet of Caucasus, and, as the population of the plains must have been thin, and as the intruders were not the men to be either fastidious about intermarriage with the compliant, or scrupulous about the reduction of the obstinate, it is quite on the cards that, as early as 800 B.C., the present Government of Caucasus may have been as little Caucasian as it was when Russia took hold of it. If the plains, however, were accessible, the mountain fastnesses were impracticable; so that, on the other hand, it is likely that eight hundred years B.C. the hill-country was the stronghold of the unsubdued remainder.

Still, it was not unapproachable. When all that will bear saying about the aboriginal character of the Caucasians has been said, when due allowance has been made for the recent influences exerted by Russia on the north, and when the deep indentations on the south by which the Persian language has intruded itself into Shirvan and other districts have been admitted, there will still be an obscure, though important, foreign element which has to be accounted for. In whatever form we take it, this is Turk. So far as anything in Caucasus approaches the character of a Lingua Franca it is the Ottoman Turk of Constantinople. Nor is this all. In some of (apparently) the most inaccessible districts of the range there are actual Turk populations; Turk populations which have already been noticed under the names of Basian and Karatshai: to which others may be added. That some of these represent the Turks of the Kiptshak period is likely. But, besides these, there is the remarkable, interesting, and unexplained fact that a great number of tribes, though Caucasian in language, bear Turk names—in other words, we find in Caucasus, and under the garb of Caucasians, Avars, Alans, and Kumuk or (?) Cumanians. If these be Turk in origin, they represent the Turks of the Khazar, the Hun, or even

the Scythian, period. It is chiefly from the north that such Turk influences have been introduced. Their analogues on the south are those from Persia and Armenia; if, indeed, Armenia is to be separated from Caucasus. By the Russian geographers it is so separated: but the divisions of the Russian geographers are political rather than ethnological. In the present work it is similarly separated; but the arrangement of the present work is, of necessity, extremely artificial. In ethnology and physical geography Armenia is Caucasian; and Georgia, though placed by the Russians in Transcaucasia, still more so.

Nevertheless, if we transcend the beginning of the historical period, we shall find reason for believing that, in some sense, even the Georgians have been intruders; in other words, that they were originally a population of Asia Minor, rather than of the true and proper Caucasian range in the strictest sense of the term. This, however, is a point of minute ethnology, concerning which the little that need be said, will be said when Asia Minor comes under notice. Another population, the Iron, appears to be, like the Georgian, more or less intrusive. If so, the ethnology of the primitive populations is simplified: though, when all which even hypercriticism can do with the elimination of intrusive elements is done, it is far from simple. However, it gives us three groups; three groups of the central ridge and the very backbone of Caucasus. At present they may be called the Western, the Eastern, and the Midland. More important, however, than the ridge, is what we may call the knot, or nucleus, of the Caucasian system; the summit of that quaquaversal watershed which divides not only the northern and the southern rivers, but the eastern and the western as well. The parts between the Kuban and Phasis, flowing into the Black Sea, and the Kur and Terek which empty themselves into the Caspian, give us good landmarks; and anything which helps us in the way of arrangement, for so complicated a system as the one under notice, is welcome.

Even here, however, the original continuity of the primitive area seems to have been broken; and that by a population of which the descendants occupy, at the present moment, the two sides of the military road from Caucasus to Transcaucasia laid down by the Russians; so natural and so permanent are the effect of barriers and passes. It seems to have been

broken by a population of heterogeneous constitution, a population in which a southern element from Persia was mixed up with a northern one from Tartary; a population which, by dividing, at the present time, the Southern Apkhazes from the Tshetshents and Lesgians, makes the division into Western and Eastern Caucasus natural as well as convenient.

Notwithstanding all that has been said about exotic influences the Caucasian system of populations is a remarkable one. The number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech is high. It is, perhaps, as high as any in the world for an area of equal magnitude. It is certainly the area where the greatest number of mutually unintelligible languages is to be found *in situ*. That there are tracts in the Alps where a language from (say) Italy, having spread in one direction, meets a second (say) from Carinthia, and a third from (say) Germany, which give us, as far as the mere number of distinct tongues is concerned, phenomena in the way of mutual unintelligibility, which are quite equal to those of Caucasus, is likely. Still, the value of the difference is not the same. In Caucasus most of the distinctions seem to have been developed on the spot. In the Transgangetic peninsula, however, and in the mountainous districts about Munipúr, we have a closer parallel. Still, the Caucasian phenomena stand alone.

The currency given to the word *Caucasian* as the name of one of the primary divisions of the human species, and as a term which is placed in opposition to *Mongolian*, *African*, *American*, and other similar denominations, creates an inconvenience when, abandoning the more general views, we come to the details of Caucasus Proper. Individually, I find it a bad term. At the same time, I find so many influential amateurs writing about the great Caucasian race and the like, that, bad as it is, it must be recognized in its miserably catachrestic meaning. Such being the case, a fresh one for Caucasus Proper becomes a desideratum. On the strength of a passage in Pliny concerning Dioscurias, one of the towns of Caucasus, about which there is the special statement that the languages of the parts around had to be explained in the market-place by as many as thirty interpreters, combined with the fact of this high number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech being one of the chief characteristics of Modern Caucasus, I have, in an earlier work,

proposed the term *Dioscurian* for *Caucasian in its proper sense*, and I still think it a good one. It is good for general ethnology; and, even in a work like the present, where, in speaking of Russia, we must, to some extent, use Russian terms, it is not a bad one. Even in Russia, however, its use is advantageous. The simple term *Caucasus* is the name of a Government: whilst a great deal of what is really Caucasian goes under the name of *Transcaucasia*. Georgia, for instance, though, ethnologically, Caucasian, is, in the political geography of Russia, Transcaucasian. I shall, then, in the forthcoming pages, use the term Dioscurian when wanted.

Besides being inconvenient, the term Caucasian, in its general sense, is incorrect; and it arose out of one of the most imperfect inductions on record. A particular skull in Blumenbach's collection, had the characteristics, real or supposed, of the Greek, Latin, and German families in the highest degree of perfection. It was the skull of a sculptor's model rather than that of an ordinary human being. On the strength of its beautiful symmetry it was taken as a type; and as it belonged, when in the flesh, to a Georgian female, it was held to represent all Georgia, just as Georgia was held to represent all Caucasus. Neither assumption was legitimate; though both have obtained currency. The physiognomy of the mass of the men and women of Caucasus is not Caucasian. There is much beauty, and there are many fine frames in Georgia. There is much beauty (though of a different character) and there are many fine frames in Circassia—but, both in Georgia and Circassia, there is a class of nobles as opposed to a class of either the ignoble or the unfree; and it is to the higher class that the beauty (which, by the way, many observers have demurred to) almost exclusively belongs. The other populations have never been praised, for even moderately good looks: indeed, the verdict of many travellers has been decidedly in the opposite direction. Yet the handsome and plain classes graduate into each other.

In creed, the Caucasians are divided: the primary distinction being Christian and Mahometan. Where the Turk influence has predominated, Mahometanism prevails: where the Armenian, Christianity. But neither is either pure or simple. There is the Georgian Christianity, which is that of the Armenian church and

ancient. There is the Russian, which is that of the Greek church and modern. Mahometanism is Sunnite under Turk, Shiite under Persian, influences. Nor, in either case, is it pure. One element always underlies it, viz. the original paganism of the district. Another occurs in Circassia and Lazistan (perhaps elsewhere), viz. an earlier Christianity; inasmuch as, before even the birth of Mahomet, Christianity had found its way from Syria to the shores of the Euxine; partly through Persia, partly through Armenia.

How far there may be any population of Caucasus upon which the influence of either Mahometanism or Christianity, or both combined, has been so small as (even in the nineteenth century) to have left it in a state of actual, palpable, and preponderating paganism, I cannot say. The opposite statement, however—that there is no Dioscurian population, be it Christian or be it Mahometan, in which either creed has obtained a complete ascendancy over the superstitions of the original heathendom—may be made with safety. When the Iron, the Swan, and some of the Lesgians are called Christians, little more is meant by the term than the suggestion that they are indifferent Mahometans; and, *vice versâ*, to call them Mahometans is simply to exclude them from the category of Christians.

Upon the whole, however, I think that even the earliest Mahometanism which took root in Caucasus was planted on an approximation to either Christianity or Judaism as its basis: and I involve my statement in this apparent circumlocution on purpose. That there was some pure Christianity, I believe. There were, on the South, the influences of the eminently Christian countries of Syria and Armenia; each with an early alphabet; an early literature; and an early Christian Church. In the former, the literature was not only rich, but influential; indeed, either as orthodox or Nestorian, it was a literature which was made available for the purposes of Proselytism. Over the steppes of Tartary, and Mongolia, and to the head-waters of the great Chinese Wall did Syrian missionaries find their way. Much that they did has been exaggerated; and the well-known fable of Prester John, a Christian Khan of Mongolia, in the thirteenth century, grew out of the exaggerations. However, even in Prester John, there was a basis of fact. Still more relevant and valuable is the evidence supplied by the early Mongol and Uighur alphabets. Which

grew out of which is a minute and doubtful point. It is certain, however, that the older of the two was of Syrian origin. Neither are the missionary influences of Armenia for its own immediate neighbourhood to be overlooked; though they cannot, for a moment, be compared with the more efficient and extensive ones from Syria.

Add to these sources Byzantium; which would give the Christianity of the orthodox, or Greek, Church.

But that in any, except in certain favoured, districts, and in localities where there was no prior creed of sufficient vitality to either preserve itself in fragments, or to overpower the newer doctrine, either Syrian or Armenian Christianity, or even the more-organized Christianity of the Greek Church, was adopted purely and simply is unlikely. There was a creed which preceded even this; and it was a creed of a very different character from the rude and unlettered superstitions of pure paganism. It was a creed, as the Mahometans would say, of a Book; in other words, it was a creed with its scriptures and liturgies as definite elements of permanence and vitality. Its basis was the old Fire-worship; but from the Old Testament it had taken something directly; and from a common source with the Old Testament, more. To the New Testament also, it stood in a somewhat similar relation; to the New Testament directly, and to the creeds which the New Testament displaced, indirectly. More will be said about it when certain fragmentary creeds of Kurdistan, and Syria, come under notice. At present it is enough to indicate its existence.

Besides all this, there is a certain amount of Parseeism, Sabæanism, Magianism, Fire-worship, or whatever we choose to call it, pure and simple. Of Paganism, except so far as it underlies this earliest of the three religions,—of Paganism, in its unmodified form, I doubt whether there is much.

No wonder, then, that the creeds of Caucasus are imperfectly known. Even if the study of them were common, and the *data* numerous and accessible, the complexities and difficulties of the analysis would be great. Of Christianity, however, anterior to the spread of Mahometanism, there was much; and, at the present time, ruins of Christian Churches and monasteries in even the Non-Christian parts of Caucasus are numerous.

Akin to the influence of this early Christianity was the influence of the Constantinopolitan Greeks: preceded by that of the Greeks of the kingdoms of Bosphorus; by that of the Hellenistic kings of Pontus; by that of the Greeks of the flourishing time of Athens; and by that of those primeval adventurers whose voyages are dimly suggested by the stories of Jason and Prometheus. Finally, a portion of Caucasus was, for a time, a Roman province; Albania having been either overrun or reduced by Pompey.

Until lately, and indeed up to the present time, the current notions concerning the Dioscurians have been formed upon the descriptions of only two members of the group, the Georgians and the Circassians; two members, which, so far from representing the whole population of the range, are, themselves, only sub-sections of a section. It is from these most especially, that the harems of Constantinople and Cairo are filled, and it is the Georgians and Circassians—male or female, as the case may be—of whom we oftenest read in the accounts of the Ottoman Turks. It will soon, however, be seen that, in the discreditable trade of slaves and daughters, the Georgians and Circassians are monopolists.

Again, the spirit of independence and the temper which makes the stubborn courage of the Dioscurians a stronger bulwark against Russia than even the mountain-fastnesses which give birth to them, are, by no means, uniformly and equally distributed. The Circassians, who, in so many other cases, are the representative population, though sufficiently jealous of their independence, and, though inferior to none of their congeners in martial energy, enjoy some of their well-earned credit at the expense of a very different division of their fellow mountaineers. Shamil, for instance, was no Circassian, but a Lesgian.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### The Iron, or Oset.

THOUGH unimportant in respect to their political history, the Iron, as they call themselves, and the Oset, as they are called by their neighbours, are a convenient population to begin with. This is because they lie in the very centre of Caucasus, so as to form a kind of nucleus round which the other Dioscurians may be arranged. They are essentially central, essentially (if we may use the term) Mediterranean; by which I mean that they nowhere touch either the Euxine or the Caspian. Neither do they command the main streams of any of the great rivers. They are hemmed-in on all sides by mountains, and surrounded in every direction by populations of a different origin and of a different nationality from themselves. Where the great midrib of the Caucasian range culminates in the huge heights of Kasbeg the Iron are to be sought. They belong chiefly, or wholly, to its eastern slope. But they also belong to both sides of the watershed; so that the springs which swell the Terek on the north, and the springs which contribute to the Kur on the south, belong to their rude and rugged country.

The division, then, of the Iron into the northern and the southern branch is natural. More than this, the great military road bisects their country; a fact on which we get a measure of their dependence upon Russia. Trace it from Vladicaucasus on the north to Duschet on the south, and you find Iron on each side of it. With the exception, then, of the Georgians of the larger towns, and the Circassians of the coast, there is no Caucasian population which is more in contact with its conquerors.

For a Caucasian population of a rugged district the Iron are tolerable Russian subjects; and, though not to be compared in

their amenability to the Muscovite conditions of civilization with the Georgians and Armenians, they are a quiet people as compared with the Circassians, the Lesgians, and the Tshetsh. They are robbers, nevertheless; and they pay their tribute with only an imperfect approach to regularity. The nearer they lie to a great highway the more easily they are disciplined. In the mountains much of the original independence still survives.

Few in number, they amount to less than 50,000 individuals.

Few in number, they have shown no readiness to put themselves under the guidance of any great captain; so that the wars which preceded their reduction are obscure and insignificant.

Few in number, they affect a patriarchal, rather than a tribual, organization; live in villages rather than towns; and obey elders rather than military chiefs with camp-retainers and castles. Still, they have the fragments of a history; though the most important parts of it are untrustworthy.

How came they in their present seats? I know of no writer who treats them as aboriginal to the soil; indeed, a detailed account of the opinions which have floated about concerning them, would, alone, fill a volume. They have been looked upon as Medes, as Mede colonists placed in Caucasus by Darius; as Alans; as Medes and Alans at once. Haxthausen, who seems to have approached them with a strong sense of their foreign origin, saw numerous small details in which they differed from their neighbours, and, as he thought, approached his own countrymen. They sat on stools and chairs, a fact which always excites the speculations of the ethnological traveller, instead of sitting Turk-fashion. They had their threshing-floor within the house. They made cream in a way of their own, and malted barley. They had this, that, and the other in way of small differences, and everything peculiar was held to be characteristic, whilst most of it was made to be German.

That their speech is sufficiently like the Persian to have been placed in the same category with that language is an undoubted fact; so that those who made the Persian what is called Indo-European made the Iron the same. But it has too many true Dioscurian affinities to admit of the doctrine purely and simply; in other words, the fact, as usually given, proves too much; inasmuch as it makes the Persian Dioscurian quite as much as it

makes the Iron Indo-European. This, however, is a point upon which the present writer unwillingly differs with the best authorities.

Enough has been said to show that, from an ethnological point of view, these Iron are a population of great interest. Their own view, according to Haxthausen, is that they came from the north, *i. e.* from Tartary rather than Persia. Klaproth's identification of them with the Alans, a Turk tribe, rests on a simple oversight.

They have, then, an outlying and somewhat mysterious language. It has never been cultivated; so that the little which is written in it is written in Russian characters. There is a short grammar, and a copious dictionary of it; the first by Rosen, the latter by Sjögrèn.

The Iron have a strange mixture of Judaism, Christianity, Mahometanism, and Paganism for a creed. Upon the whole, however, they pass for Christians; certainly for Christians rather than either Mahometans or Jews.

The latest converts are, of course, of the Greek Church; but the original Christianity is, in all probability, referable to the sixth century. Then it was that those tribes of Caucasus which had not like, the Georgians, taken their Church from Armenia, were first converted by Greek missionaries; the time when such Christianity amongst the Lazes and Circassians as has not been superseded by Mahometanism, through the thin veil of which it, even now, in company with the original paganism, shows itself, was introduced. It is the reign of Justinian that these spiritual conquests in Caucasus more especially illustrate; and it is to a period approaching that epoch that the chief ruins and works of art which bear witness to an older civilization are mostly referable. Some such exist even in Ironistan, though the notices of them are few and incomplete.

The following is the fragment of an Iron liturgy.

God, we implore thy mercy upon us! have pity on us!
Holy Gregory help us, we implore thee: have pity on us!
Mother of God, we implore thee, have pity on us!
Michael, Gabriel, we implore thee, have pity on us!
Ye mountain churches, have pity on us!
O St. Gregory, have pity on us!
Ye Bussabseli, and ye apostles and angels who dwell upon them, we greet and implore you to have pity on us, who supplicate you.
Ye Georgian churches, have pity on us! that all the people who live around you may have pity upon us.

Christ, have pity on us!
God of all goodness, help us according to thy justice!

Far more prominent, however, than the name of Gregory is that of the prophet Elijah; and the holiest of all the caves of the Iron country is Elijah's cave. "Once upon a time,"—I am giving the story in the words of Haxthausen,—"a holy man was taken prisoner, and carried off to a strange country in the west; when an eagle, bearing him aloft over high mountains and broad seas, deposited him here, and he passed the remainder of his life in performing religious service in the cave of Elijah. This service became hereditary in his family. The eldest descendant, dressed in a coat of his own weaving, once a year ascends the sacred rock alone, and, having entered the cave, offers up a mystic sacrifice. No one else is permitted to approach; an attempt to climb the rock would be punished with blindness, and instant death would be the penalty for entering the cave. The interior is said to be composed of emerald. In the centre stands an altar of rock, bearing a golden goblet filled with beer. As soon as the priest enters, he receives the gift of prophecy for the ensuing year. If the beer is agitated in the goblet and runs over, there will be peace and an abundant harvest; but if the beer does not move, there will be war and famine. On the following day a great banquet, to which every one in the neighbourhood contributes, is held in the village of Lamadon, and there the priest of Elijah makes known the events of the coming year."

The Iron constitution is thoroughly patriarchal. There are no towns in the country, and the villages are small. To twenty or thirty houses there are five or six farms or estates, each belonging to some particular family, with an acknowledged head; much after the manner of the Scotch, except that to be dignified by the name of *clan*, the aggregates of kinsmen are too small. The servant of the gentleman who accompanied Haxthausen, and to whom, from his familiarity with the land and the language of these isolated mountaineers, much of the little we know is due, was one out of forty-nine. They acknowledged a kind of elder, or head of family; and were bound to each other, if by no better tie, by that of the *vendetta*. Whoever lost a relation by violence, was bound to revenge his death. The village, too, was answerable for robberies committed by any of its occupants. Surmounted by a

tower, and more like small forts than peaceful dwelling-houses, the Iron houses stand in as strong a contrast to those of Georgia as the natives of the two countries differ in physical appearance.

The good looks of the Georgians have met with their full share of praise. No one ever praised either the features or the frames of the Iron, who are under-sized, with grey eyes, and often red hair, yet strong and hardy. Divided into the free and unfree, they have amongst the former an approximation to a nobility, or rather they have small seigniors amongst them who enjoy a local reputation and authority. Of regularly-constituted official ministers of religion the few that are to be found are either on or within the Georgian frontier; the religious observances being chiefly confined to the celebration of certain holidays, each with its own proper sacrifice: New Year's Day with that of a pig, Easter with that of lambs or sheep, Michaelmas with that of an ox, Christmas with that of a goat; Elisha, Michael, St. Gregory, and St. Nicolas being the several saints invoked.

The Iron are free, too, in the use of the cross, and on the nights of the new moon they cut crosses in the air with their daggers. A shooting star is a flying cross.

A halo of mystery hangs round the pilgrimage to the Inarisch Libani. This is a district round a cross—Haxthausen, at least, translates it, the Neighbourhood of the Cross. When the pilgrimage takes place, costly ornaments come from some unknown hiding-place, do duty for the day, and then disappear as suddenly as they came to light. Whoever knows the secret of their hiding-place keeps it well; and his predecessors did so before him. Nadir Shah, it is said, visited the spot, threatened a massacre unless the secret was divulged, carried it into effect to the number of five hundred, and went away no wiser than he came. And the present Russians know no more than was known to Nadir Shah. The evidence, however, of any secret treasury is incomplete, since all that is described as done might be done by each pilgrim bringing his temporary contribution, and, after the day was over, taking it back, with him. However, I am not so presumptuous as to call it a mere religious picnic. I simply give the notice of it as it stands in the work so often quoted, and from which so much information for these parts is taken: amongst other things the following Iron fairy tale; a tale

within a tale, with no natural end, and, apparently capable of being continued *ad infinitum*.

There once lived a man and his wife who had sixty bees; they counted them every day, and one time they missed a bee; they sought for it high and low, and at last found it yoked to a plough, and his wife led the bee; whereupon the bee stung her in the neck. Then the man got some nut oil and rubbed it on the wounded part, which swelled up to the size of a mountain. A nut tree grew out of the mountain on her neck, and bore many nuts. The husband counted the nuts every day until they were ripe, when he shook them down; but on counting them one was gone, and he saw the bee dragging it away. In a great passion he took up a handful of earth and threw it after the bee, and out of this sprang a field, large enough to occupy three days in tilling it. This field he sowed with millet, and went every day to see how the crop was growing. One day a wild boar came, rooted up the field and destroyed the crop. The man shot the swine dead, and found in its tail a roll of paper on which the following was written. "Once there came together to a mill two men, one rich and one poor. When each of them went to take his own meal, they found it all mixed up together, so that it could not be separated. So, of it, they baked a cake, and the question arose to whom the cake belonged, then they agreed that he who should tell the best story should have the cake, whereupon the rich man began:—'Once upon a time I had a goose, upon which I loaded the food that I intended for ten labourers during the whole day; and she carried the food into the field, but a wolf met her, and ate up half the side of the goose. I healed the wounded side with brushwood, and again loaded the food upon her back, and sent it to the workmen, and they had their dinner earlier than all the other workmen in the country.' This was the tale of the rich man; the poor man then began as follows:—'I and my wife had sixty bees, which we counted every day, till at last one was missing; we searched for it high and low, and at last found it yoked to a plough. Then I went to plough, and my wife was to lead the bee but it stung her in the neck, I poured some oil upon the wound for her neck had swelled up as big as a mountain.'"

In this way it went on, until the hearer had heard more than enough; and it might have gone on until, even the narrator himself was tired; when another would, probably, have taken it up, and begun afresh on the same text. However, what has just been given is all that has come down to us.

An allusion has been made to certain speculations concerning the origin of the Iron, and to certain complicated points connected with their ethnological relations; and it has been suggested that the chief factors in the question are their language and their name; or, rather, their language and the name by which they are known to some of their neighbours. Something more in the way of *data* is suggested by Haxthausen, who, speaking about their own belief on the matter, states that, according to their own traditions, they came from the north. But the value

of their traditions is unknown; neither have they been given in detail.

*Alan*, however, is an important name in our criticism. The Alans are mentioned by Josephus and by Pliny; and it would be difficult to find two authorities who are more independent of each other. Lucian mentions the Alans as either actual Scythians or something very like it. One of his interlocutors bears the name Makentes, and is described as being dressed like an Alan, and as speaking the language of an Alan. He wore, however, his hair short, being clipped—just as an Alan in his clipping differs from the unshorn, long-haired Scythian.

The evidence that brings them into Europe is equally clear. Pliny associates them with the Roxolani. Josephus had, before, placed them on the Don and the Mæotis. Ammianus writes of the *European* Alans: whilst by other writers they are made allies of the Costoboci on the north-west and the Peucini and Basternæ on the south-east.

The name was general; and the evidence that this particular nation, along with others of which the details will again be noticed, were Turk, is very decided.

Lastly, there is special evidence to the Alans having been employed as soldiers by the Romans, and transplanted as colonists. This took them westwards. How far? Very far indeed. Even to Bavaria.

Who, then, were the Iron? They were Alans in some sense of the word, though not Alans in the way that Klaproth makes them. Still less were they, in Klaproth's sense of the term, Alans *or* Medes; though they may have been, in some degree, Alans *and* Medes. Klaproth's doctrine rests on nothing less than a blunder; and as it is made by a writer who never spared anyone there is no harm in calling it one. He found on good authority that the men who were known in Europe as *Alans* called themselves *As*. It was believed, and that on good grounds, that the country of the Alans was in Ironistan. That the Georgians, the Turks, and the Russians called the Iron *As* was beyond doubt. The fact, however, that the Iron did *not* call themselves *As* was either overlooked or ignored. Yet it is the one fact needful for his hypothesis; all that supports it, as the case stands, being that the Iron occupy the ancient Alania; that the Alans called themselves *As;* and that

some one else calls the Iron *Osi*—some one else, not the Iron themselves. All that facts of this kind give is a presumption.

But against it are the following:—Iron and Ironistan are Persian names; and the Iron language is far more Persian than aught else. This is a fact so generally admitted that Klaproth himself, with his followers, carries it out to its legitimate conclusion by making the Alans Persian, Mede, Indo-European, or whatever the term may be. On the other hand the Alans were Turks. That this is less generally allowed than the Persian affinities of the Iron language is true; but nine out of ten of those who doubt it assume the very point in question, *i. e.* that they were Iron. On the other hand, place for place, Ironistan is Alania.

I can only reconcile these difficulties by an hypothesis in the strictest sense of the term, *i. e.* by a doctrine which will account for the phenomena, but which has no evidence in favour of it. I can reconcile them by supposing that the occupation of the Iron country was made by a mixed body of Turks and Persians, or that there was either a Persian occupancy followed by an Alan, or an Alan followed by a Persian, one. If so, the Alan was the more prominent, though not the more permanent, element.

Two small facts favour this view: the evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus that the Alans, though allied to the Huns, were the better-looking people; the statement of Procopius that the Alans were often in alliance with Persia.

## CHAPTER XXX.

The Circassians, or Tsherkess, and Apkhazes.—The Tshetsh group.

THE Circassians fall into two primary divisions; the Circassians Proper and the Abasgians. And here it may be useful to draw a distinction. The term *Circassian* is of Italian origin and came to us from the Genoese. Hence, the original pronunciation gave *Tshir-* as the first syllable. This has long been extinct in England, even if it were ever current. At the same time it is frequent enough on the Continent, where *Tsherkess* is a common term. Now, in the present work, both these forms will be used; *Circassian* as the general one denoting the whole class, *Tsherkess* as the Circassians in the limited sense of the name and as distinguishing the branch which is other than Abasgian. The distinction itself is sufficiently natural and important. In Georgia, *Abkhaz* means something very different from *Tsherkess;* and *Abkhazeti* means the land of the Abkhazes. So it does in Russia. Indeed, except under a general ethnological or philological view, the terms are thoroughly distinct.

Both the (1) Tsherkess Proper and the (2) Abasgians fall into two primary divisions.

(1.) The Tsherkess belong to either the Western or the Eastern branch, those of the latter being called Kabardinians.

*a.* These last will come first under notice. In the twelfth century, according to what Klaproth calls a tradition of the people, though he gives us no details by which we may form an opinion as to its worth, a tribe named Kabarda occupied a district on the Kuban. This it left and moved on to the Don. The Don, too, it left, and penetrated into the Crimea. Here, between the rivers Katsha and Belbik, the upper part of which is still called Kabarda, they settled; and at the present time there is a plain which the Tartars call the Tsherkess Plain, and a fortress called the Tsherkess Castle.

In a map, by Fredutio of Ancona, A.D. 1497, which was to be found (no further details being given) in the library of Wolfenbütten, the name of *Cabardi* in red letters stands somewhat to the west of the present Taganrog.

In Constantine Porphyrogeneta, a little earlier, they are placed on an island at the mouth of the Kuban called by the Tartars *Kuzil Tash*, or Red Rock.

This, however, they left, and under a captain named Inaltegin moved upon their present locality, of which they conquered the natives; themselves Tsherkess. From this Inaltegin all the present chiefs of the Kabarda derive their origin, real or supposed..

Now *-tegin* is a Turk gloss; and there is scarcely a division of the Turk stock, in which some chief or other is not to be found, in whose name it enters as the latter elements of a compound. It is found among the Turks of the extreme East or frontier of Mongolia, and it is found among the Yakuts of Siberia. I think that it is also Mongol.

As to the Kabardinians themselves, they fall into sub-divisions; there is the Great Kabarda on the west, and the Little Kabarda on the east, and between the two is a narrow, but important, strip of Russian territory on each side of the great military road.

*b*. The Western Tsherkess, or the Tsherkess of the Lower Kuban and the coast, call themselves *Adigé:* which is, word for word, Ζύχοι, a name found in Arrian; perhaps earlier. It is one out of many; the others being Sanichi, Sydretes, Heniochi, Apsili, Kerketes, Sâni, &c.—some of them, probably, Tsherkess, others Abasgian, Georgian, or something else.

The name, however, is an old one, *Kerketes*, and there is no reason to believe that at the time when it first appears it was not just as Circassian as it is at present.

According to an Iron account the Tsherkess before the Kabardinean migration called themselves Kasakh. In the notice of Porphyrogeneta Kasachia lies at the back of Sychia. Thirdly, Kasakh Mepe or Kossak princes is the title by which the Tsherkess chiefs are known in Mingrelia. Fourthly, I suggest that, word for word, *Tsherkess,* which, as we have already stated, is *not* native, is *Kirghiz* and *Kerkês.*

Is it probable, then, that the Tsherkess are less Circas-

sian in blood than in language? inasmuch as the facts just given suggest that they may to a great extent be Circassianized Turks, or *vice versâ*.

(2.) *Abchas* is a Georgian name; and it was, probably, through the Georgians that the name Abasgi reached the authors of the earliest notices of these parts. The Tsherkess name is *Abas*. The native name is *Absné*. The *Absné* falls into two divisions.

*a*. The western touches the sea and is bounded on the north by the Tsherkess, on the south by the Mingrelians and Suanetians. Those who live well beyond the Caucasian back-bone are called by the Tsherkess Kushkhasip Abasi, the Abasi beyond the Ridge, or the Tramontane Abasi. The word is a remarkable one, being Fin and found in the Votiak country. For this division we know the following names of tribes, Beshilbai, Midawi, Barrakai, Kaselbeg (a Turk form), Tshegreh, Bakh, Tubi, Ubych, Bsubbeh, Netshkwadzha, and Abasekh (Absagi). These constitute the Great Abassi.

*b*. The Little Abassi, whom the Tsherkess call *Baskekh*, and the Tartars *Alti-kesek*, call themselves *Tepanta*.

Divided and sub-divided as these names show the Circassians to be, they by no means exhaust the classification. Each section, like that of the Absné, has its sub-sections, and these fall into minor groups: the other classes being, again, like the Absné, cut up into minor divisions.

That the Apkhazes are the aborigines of their land may be predicated of them as safely as aboriginality may be predicated of any population on the face of the earth. Yet they have fancies of their own concerning their origin; fancies which deserve notice only because they show how, even amongst rude and simple tribes, the book-learned spirit of logography can insinuate itself. One doctrine is that they come from Armenia; which has, probably, arisen out of the fact of some small portion of their imperfect and obsolete Christianity being of Armenian origin. Another deduces them from Egypt; and in this there seems to be an echo of the Herodotean statement concerning the connection between Egypt and Colchis. A third makes them descendants of an Abyssinian colony; this being, manifestly, an inference from the word *Absne*. To call these traditions is to abuse language. They are neither the spontaneous growth of the popular mind, nor are they independent of book-learning of some

kind or other. They are notions which half-learned men have put into the heads of men who were wholly unlearned.

Of genuine history it is needless to say that, with an unlettered population, there is none. The little that is known is derived from foreign sources; from the Latin and Greek writers a little, from the Georgian annals a little more.

There is no reason for believing that Christianity was introduced among them before the reign of Justinian; neither can we think that the little that was then introduced took deep root. Under the famous Georgian Queen, Thamaris, the old seed was revived: but whether it fell upon the hard ground of the original paganism, or was lost among the thorns of Mahometanism is uncertain. It has left but little good fruit: though no want of signs of its presence. Next to the Swan country Abasgia is the land where the ruins of Christian churches are the most abundant; and so are the traces of an early commercial industry. None of the towns along the Apkhazi coast are new; and none have been less flourishing than they are now. That some of their ill-gotten gains came from piracy is certain; for the Apkhazi corsairs were long the scourges of the Black Sea. With a galley of peculiar construction, they were formidable even in the time of the Genoese: more formidable still after the reduction of the Crimea by the Ottomans.

Of the original paganism little is known. A writer of the last century describes the manner in which they disposed of their dead. They neither buried nor burned them. They put them in wooden boxes; hung them up on the trees of their vast beech woods; and drew auguries from the way in which they were swayed by the winds.

Assuming that their heathenism was that of the Tsherkess Proper, we learn a little more about it. We learn, at least, the names of eight of their divinities:—

1. Shible, the God of Thunder.
2. Tleps, ,, Fire and Wind.
3. Soseresk, ,, Water.
4. Sekutkha, ,, Travellers.
5. Mesitkha, ,, the Woods.
6. Pekoash, ,, Water.
7. Akhin, ,, Oxen.
8. Yemish, ,, Sheep.

Such, at least, is the list given by Bodenstedt of the divinities which command the respect of the present Tsherkess—Mahometan as they are reputed, and Mahometan as they profess, to be.

The princes of the Absne are called Tahvadi; their nobles, Amystha; the former being supposed to be of royal blood, the fountain of which was one of the Georgian Eristavs. The authority, however, that this dignity carries with it is wholly determined by the political conditions of the land, and the character of the chief. When times are quiet, he has a fair amount of authority over his own tribe, and, perhaps, one or two of its nearest allies or neighbours. When war is in the wind he becomes the recognized chief of a larger portion of Abasgaland. Rarely, however, does he sway the whole. Nor have the later ones been faithful to their trust. The Shervashedz princes, for that is the title of the dynasty, Georgian originally, are now Russian: Micael Shervashedz, the present prince, being an officer in the Russian army, employed by Russia, and that, more especially, against the more independent tribes of his own nation. To set against this, there are honourable instances of patriotic incorruptibility on the part of the chiefs of the inland districts. The bold obstinacy, and proud defiance, of Bersek Bey of the Ubych clan, during 1845, though better known than others, is anything but the only one; for 1845 was, pre-eminently, a year of trial—a year of famine. It was not, however, a year in which Russia gained ground: her want of success being partly due to the spirit of the people, and partly due to the Russians of the sea-ports finding it better to sell pittances of salt and meal at exorbitant prices than to starve a warlike people into submission by absolutely closing their markets.

For the next division we want a name. It consists of a moderate number of primary sections. The names given by Klaproth amounting to only three; and for Caucasus this is few. *Kisti* is a term suggested by the Georgian designation of a part, but only of a part, of their country; and whatever shortcomings it may show, it is, at least, capable of being pronounced. *Kisti*, then, is the name of the class and *Kisteti* of the country. Native name for the whole group there is none. But as Kisti has hardly any currency, the other two names out of which we have to choose are *Mizhdzedzhi* and *Tshetshents*.

The latter is the one applied by the Russians. If this settle the question, it is needless to compare the merits of the two in the way of euphony. Klaproth adopts the first. Out of *Tshetshents* the barbarous name *Tshetshenia* has been made; and may occasionally be met with in common works. The shorter form *Tshetsh*, though more convenient, is rarer.

The *Tshetsh*, the word being taken in a generic sense, lie east and north of the Iron. Like the Iron they touch neither the Black Sea nor the Caspian. Like the Iron they occupy each side of the central range, being found on the drainage of both the Terek and the Kur: so that it is the Georgians with whom they come in contact on the south, the Kabardinian Tsherkes on the north. On the east they are bounded by the Lesgians. The valley of the Martan is, probably, the most favoured part of their inhospitable areas. And this is the occupancy of the *Arshte*, the name being both native and Ingúsh. The Tshetsh Proper say *Aristoiai*. The Turk name is Karabulak; and it is one by which they are most generally known.

To the north and west lie the *Lamur*, or so-called by themselves. The word means Hillman or Highlander. *Galgai*, or *Halha*, is another name for them; and Ingúsh (the commonest) a third. These touch the Tsherkess frontier, from which they are divided by the Sundzha.

The Tshetsh Proper lie between the Arshte and the Lesgians.

The Tushi, the most southern members of the group, lie on the Upper Alazani.

Such is the classification of Klaproth; who gives us fewer names for the tribes of this group than any other writer. Elsewhere the numbers are put higher: indeed, in Haxthausen they amount to twenty-two. The details, however, are wanting: so that what follows is merely a suggestive sketch of them. Klaproth names the Wapi as a branch of the Ingúsh. Bodenstedt gives the following names; but without explanation—Nasrani, Galati, Zori, Akhi, Shubusi or Shatoi, Dzhanbutri and Sharo; along with the word Katshilik, as the term of the Mizhdzhedzhi Proper.

Whether the tribes of the Tshetsh division be the rudest of all the populations of Caucasus is doubtful. They have rivals in this respect, in some of the Abkhasi tribes, and among the Swans. That they are the most Pagan is more certain. In 1810, when

the Ingúsh submitted to Russia it was in the name of their deity Galyard, that they took the oath of submission. Still, there are traces of Christianity in the Tshetsh country.

The Tushi have often been classed with the Georgians. In language, at least, they are Tshetsh: indeed, it is probable that in the northern districts of Georgia itself, the blood is more Tshetsh and less Georgian than the language.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

The Georgians.—Kartwelians.—Imeretians.—Mingrelians.—Swans, &c.

Of the Georgians, in the ethnological sense of the term, if we begin with the subdivisions of the class, there are as many as eleven sections.

1. The Georgians Proper, of the Province of Kartweli, and the parts about Tiflis; called by the Russians Grusinians.

2, 3, 4. The Imeretians, Mingrelians, and Gurians; like the Georgians of Kartweli, civilized, and Christian, and either actual Russian subjects or recognizing the suzerainty of the Czar.

5, 6. The Pshav, to the number of 5700, and the Khevsur to the number of 5500 in the mountains between Georgia and the Tshetsh country; probably, more or less, Tshetsh in blood.

8, 9, 10. The Swan, or Swanets, of Swanethi, falling into

*a*. The Swans under Tatar Khan.

*b*. ———————— Ziokh Dadishkelian.

*c*. The Independent Swans.

11. The Laz, or Lazes; belonging to Asia Minor, rather than to Caucasus Proper; Mahometans in creed, and, in their political relations, subject to Turkey. The notice of these belongs to another portion of the work.

The standard Georgian is the dialect of the province of Kartweli; and it is the first of the Dioscurian languages which is truly literary. Its alphabet, of neither Turkish, Russian, nor even Persian origin, is one of considerable antiquity. That it is founded upon that of Armenia is nearly certain; though, at the present time, no two books are more unlike in their general aspect than one printed at Tiflis and one printed at Erzerúm. The Armenian letters are regular, straight in their outline, angular, and slightly stunted. The Georgian are all curves, and remind us of the pothooks and hangers of our own copy-books. The order of the alphabet is the same in both languages;

and at the first view, this is all the likeness that is to be found. The Georgian, however, of business and secular literature, is only secondary. The ecclesiastical alphabet, from which it is manifestly derived, as well as the alphabet of the coins and the older literature, is manifestly akin to the Armenian.

With a metropolis of the size and importance of Tiflis the Georgians, in respect to their civilization, stand in a strong and favourable contrast with all the other Dioscurians. At the same time, when we take the term in its widest sense, and, look upon all who speak dialects of the Georgian language, as Georgians, we fall upon tribes as rude as any that have come under notice. To the higher civilization of the particular province of Kartweli many circumstances have contributed. It is in the province of Kartweli that the valley of the Kur attains its widest dimensions. It is there where there are rich lands and low levels: the latitude is that of Naples; though in this respect the advantage of Kartweli over the rest of Caucasus is not very notable. The most important natural advantage lies in its greater nearness to Persia, Armenia, and Syria. To this it owes its early Christianity; its letters; its higher political organization.

The extent to which it also owes an intermixture of blood is doubtful. Mr. Cameron, whose ethnological aptitudes are of the highest order, and whose opportunities have been (perhaps) better than those of any living Englishman, commits himself decidedly to the opinion that between the typical Georgian of Kartueli, with his oval features, his well-developed muscles, and his regular outline, and the mountaineers of Swaneti, with their hard and angular faces, there is something more than a mere result between the difference of physical condition. In other words, he thinks, that, with these two extremes, the blood and language scarcely coincide.

Mingrelia differs from Georgia Proper, Imeretia, and Guriel by being one degree less dependent upon Russia. Guriel, Imeretia, and Georgia, are divided into circles and districts, and are administered by Russian officials, just like any ordinary Governments of Russian Europe. Mingrelia, on the other hand, like Swaneti, and Apkhazia, has been left in the hands of its native sovereigns, who, under the title of Dadian, recognize only a suzerain in the Czar.

The independence, however, as may easily be imagined, is both unreal and limited; more so in Mingrelia than in Suanethi.

The Pshav, Khevsur and Swan are all rude, semi-independent, and only half Christianized. The Swans, more especially, seem to have relapsed towards their original paganism, from a state of comparative civilization. Such, at least, is the inference from the ruins which abound in their country.

The fullest details of an important act of homage to the Czar performed are given in an account of the Embassy of 1650–51, to Alexander, King of Imeretia, in his capital of Kutais. The ambassadors, after placing in his hands the letter of the Czar, which the monarch respectfully kissed and placed upon his head, recapitulated the heads of the embassy from the king, out of which the present had arisen. In 1648–49, he had addressed the Czar as his only Christian protector, and had begged him to help him with his soldiers against the infidels; among which we find from the sequel that his neighbour, the Dadian of Mingrelia, was to be numbered; the Dadian of Mingrelia specially (though, perhaps, unjustly) charged with having apostatized to Mahometanism. In compliance with this request they, the ambassadors, were now ready to receive the oath of homage, and to take Imeretia under the protection of their master.

"Be seated."

"After we have kissed your Majesty's hand."

"Would their master, the Czar, accept the present of a blood horse?"

"After your Majesty has kissed the cross and sworn the oath of homage."

The ambassadors laid great stress on these preliminaries, and as well as on several other matters of form, of different degrees of importance: until the first of September came, and no oath had been taken.

And now the diplomatists became peremptory, and insisted on a day being fixed for the ceremony: to which the king complied.

On the 14th, after the celebration of the mass in the cathedral of Kutais, the cross was lowered, and in the name of the Czar Alexis Michaelovitsh, the king kissed it, as in his own name, in the name of his son Bagrat, in the name of his brother Maxmuca, and in the name of all his nobles, of whom we have a list.

There were included in the oath the Catholicus Maximus; the metropolitans, Simon and Zacharia, three archbishops, two bishops, eight archimandrites, and fifty-four thavads; the seals attached to the document amounting to twelve. After dinner, however, signatures as well as seals were required, when the king pleaded that he could not write—

"But I will sign with my signet."

"Let us see it. There is nothing on it but your Majesty's name. Your Majesty must add to this—'perpetual vassal of Russia.'"

In this, as in smaller matters, the ambassadors got their way. More decided still was the attack on their religion made during the reign of Vakhtang VI. Reduced by the arms of the Shah, this puppet-king, having left the administration of Georgia in the hands of his son, was acting as commander-in-chief of the Persian army; was bearing the name of Usein Kuli Khan, the title of viceroy of Kartuel, and either holding or professing the Mahometan creed. Despatched to Tiflis, he fixed his residence there in 1719. Two years afterwards the Persian minister being suspected of treason had his eyes put out. He was of Lesgian blood, and all Lesgistan having risen to avenge him, Shiryan was overrun and its capital sacked. As some Russian property was injured during the pillage the anger of the Czar as well as that of the Sultan was inflamed, and war against the Lesgians was declared by both; Vakhtang being commanded to conduct it on the part of the Shah. But the Shah repented of his order, and, fearing, perhaps, that the extermination of the Lesgians would only be to the strengthening of Russia, withdrew it. Upon this Vakhtang returned to his original Christianity, broke his faith with the Shah, and attached himself to Russia. But though the Russians were successful in Daghestan, Vakhtang was worsted in the south, and another renegade, Constantine, imposed upon the eastern half of the kingdom by the Shah; the fall of Vakhtang himself being followed by the grant of a pension and refuge in Russia, until the full object of that mission was completed, and the proper signet was made, of which the inscription was as follows:—

The servant of God, the King Alexander, the son of George, the vassal of the great sovereign of Muscovy, the son of Micael.

"And now let your master send some Kosiaks into the country of the Dadian, with whom I am at war, and who hold both my son Bagrat, and my brother Manuka as prisoners. Let him also present me with some falcons as he presented the kings of Georgia and Persia, along with cannons which he took on the Kabarda."

So was Imeretia bought and sold, and valuable purchase lightly gotten. A semi-statistical notice of it, as it stood at the time, follows the account of the embassy. Besides Kutais, the capital, it contained seventy-two smaller towns, and more than one hundred villages, held by the officers of the king, along with others under inferior governors: and along with twenty-two titled, and more than five hundred untitled monasteries.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Russian Armenia.—Shirvan.—The Talish country.

THE geographical connection between Russian Armenia and Georgia is no closer and no more decided than the connection between the Georgians and Armenians in politics and ethnology. It will seem, when some of the small and less-important districts come under notice, that the two countries graduate into one another; that, just as there are numerous Armenians in Georgia, there are Georgians within the Armenian frontier; indeed, that it is difficult to say where the two countries end. It seems as if there was never a time when they were not conterminous, and as if, from the very dawn of the historical period, their histories had ever been intermixed. Every Georgian king had Armenian, every Armenian, Georgian subjects. The civilization, however, of Armenia was the early, and so was its Christianity.

Both are essentially Christian countries in the midst of a Mahometan population. Of the two, however, Armenia is the more exclusively Christian. The Lazes, of whom more will be said when Turkey commands our attention, though Georgian in language and blood, are Mahometans in creed. But, with the exception of either isolated cases of apostacy, which, if they exist at all, are rare, and with the exception of the cases where, with a change of language, an apparent Turk is merely a disguised Armenian, Armenia is essentially a Christian, as opposed to a Mahometan country.

In the way of language, all that can be said of the Armenian is that it is as much like the Georgian as it is to any language in the world; though this means little. It is a very isolated and outlying form of speech; though an old, a lettered, and a literary one.

But the Armenian nationality has no exact analogue, unless it be that of the Jews. In the way that there is a Poland, or a

Hungary there is no Armenia. There is a district so called under the Ottomans. There is a district so called under Persia. There is a district so called under Russia. But neither under the Czar, the Shah, nor the Sultan, is there an exclusively Armenian country. It is doubtful whether there is any large district with definite boundaries in which the majority of the population is, according to the tests of language and creed, decidedly Armenian. There is always a concurrent population. In Erivan this is made to constitute one-half, and it would be difficult to find any country in which the Armenian is more prevalent than it is in Erivan. With few exceptions this concurrent population is always Mahometan; and except in Russia, dominant and privileged. With few exceptions it is either Turk or Persian; Turk of the Tartar, Persian of the Kurd, branch. Nor is it of recent origin. The maps of ancient Asia give us a large portion of Armenia as Persia. Such, at least, is the import of the word Persarmenia. That the language has held up against this intrusion of foreign elements is due to the influence of its letters and its Christian literature. At the same time, it is much in the position of the Hebrew. Just as there are few, if any, Jews, who are not compelled by the circumstances of their residence to learn some second language, which, in many cases, becomes, for all the purposes of common life, their true vernacular, so there are few, if any, Armenians, who are not bilinguals; speaking Turkish or Persian, or Hindostani, as the case may be.

Under such a stress of circumstances, the strongest advocate for the principle of nationality can scarcely recognize an Armenian kingdom, an Armenian confederacy, an Armenian republic. It has all the difficulties which would attend an attempt to reconstruct a national Judea, combined with others peculiar to itself. There is no Holy Land to the Armenian: no Jerusalem. In Etshmiadzhin is the seat of the Patriarch; and in Ararat the centre of the numberless traditions and beliefs. But the true analogue to a Palestine is wanting. On the other hand the number of Armenians occupant of the soil of Armenia is greater than that of the Jews of the valley of the Jordan. Their occupancy, however, is larger.

Under such a stress of circumstances, no one can see the extension of the Russian empire in the direction of Armenia with much

regret; except, of course, when he looks from a point of view exclusively political. That history supplies many instances where the transfer of a Christian community from the rule of the Sultan to that of a sovereign of its own creed has been followed by complaints and regrets is true; and it is true that cynical writers have often contrasted the manner in which the Christians of one denomination have persecuted the Christians of another with the tolerance granted by certain Mahometan rulers. But truer than either is the fact that such cases have been exceptional, and that the practice of Mahometan toleration has never been either permanent or complete. It has, at best, been but a lucky accident. The present writer, perhaps, falls into an opposite error. He believes, however, that for any long period of time, the worst Christian government is, for Christians, better than the best Mahometan.

This remark, however, is subject to one important qualification. In order for the general statement to hold good it is necessary that the Christianity should be homogeneous; in other words, that the whole of the population so transferred should be of one religious denomination, sect, or church; all Greek or all Roman Catholic. When there is a division with any approach to equality it is better for the Mahometan dominion to be retained. In all Mahometan countries Christians of different sects are more hostile to each other than they are to the infidel. If left free, they interfere with each other more than they would have been interfered with if left under infidel control.

With the populations now under notice, the rule of Russia has been a gain. It has certainly been powerful enough to protect them: and even where it has oppressed them, the oppression has arisen out of the vices of the administration rather than out of any permanent cause of suffering. That these have been great is only too true. That the Armenians, as a body, are not unwilling instruments to the ambition of Russia is well-known, and it would be strange if it were otherwise. It is the Russian church which is the nearest to their own. It is Russia which is their natural protector against Mahometanism. The few that are in political relations with other countries are not enough to make any notable exception. In Venice there are Armenians under Austria: but there are no Turks in Venetia. In India

three are Armenians under England; and of these it may be said, that they are English in the way that the Armenians of Asia Minor are Russian.

The most *Persian* part of Russian Caucasus is *Shirvan;* though even here the Tartars, according to Bodenstedt, form the majority—Shirvan with an industrious capital and a history that goes back to the Sassanides. That the blood and language but partially coincide is an inference from the form of the Turkish Mahometanism; which, in these parts, is Shiite rather than Sunnite. Like the Persians, the Armenians are numerous in Shirvan.

Conquered by Yermolov in 1826, from Mustapha Khan, Shirvan leads us to the *Talish* country; in which, though we are still among mountains, we are on Persian rather than Caucasian ground.

The Russian portion of the Talish country, so far as it was an independent district, was Persian; at any rate, Persian rather than Russian. In practice, however, it was the dominion of Mustapha Khan, whose allegiance to the Padishah of Persia, lax and easy at all times, had, in 1812, amounted, not only to a virtual independence, but to a hostile collision. Worsted in the encounter, the Talish chief betook himself to the Russians for assistance, and, having put them in possession of the port of Lankerún, promised that, if they would uphold him against Persia, he would acknowthe Czar as either his sovereign or his suzerain. This Russian garrison, however, was driven out of Lankerún by the Persians, who were again driven out by the Russians, who, attacking it in 1813, with two thousand infantry, one thousand Kosaks, and three vessels of war, at last carried it by assault. The resistance, however, was obstinate, and the recovery of Lankerún cost the Russians twelve hundred men along with Kutterovsky the commander.

As long as Mustapha lived, he kept his promise, and held his portion of the Talish country under Russia. His obedience was nominal; but it was all that was demanded. His seven sons divided the inheritance amongst them; also holding it under Russia. In the district which still remained to Persia it was the policy of the Padishah to strengthen the native chiefs, to encourage among them a Persian rather than a Russian feeling, and to instil into them a distrust and suspicion of the sons of Mustapha Khan.

When Frazer, from whom this notice is taken, visited the country, there were seven principal chiefs in the Persian part of the Talish districts; four of whom belonged to the Government of Ghilan, and two to the Government of Aderbijan. It was the Aderbijan Khans who most especially came in contact with Russia.

As far as language goes the Talish are Persian. In blood they may be more or less Lesgian. In habits they are certainly more Lesgian than Persian. Like the Lesgians they are robbers; so much so that, except you have the express protection of a chief you are not safe for a day in the Talish country. The warrant when once obtained is sufficient.

Like so many other mountaineers when visited by a traveller from North Britain, the Talish suggest a comparison with the Scotch Highlanders; and, this being upon a point upon which Scotch evidence is unexceptionable, I subjoin the following extract from Mr. Frazer's account of them.

I have heard of very few good qualities which they possess, and yet I think they are interesting, from the many points of resemblance in their patriarchal or feudal economy to the Highlanders of our own country, as they were in the old times. There is amongst these tribes not only the same devoted attachment of clansmen to their chief, but, among that chief's retainers, one might discover the same description of attendants—gillies and henchmen—which constituted the followers of a Highland laird.

The sword and the rude firelock of the chief were borne in charge by one young man, while another took care of his cloak, and a third of his pipe. Others, again, were ready to assist his steps, or stand by his horse's head, on occasions of danger or difficulty. Crowds of idle hangers-on stood before the windows or lounged lazily about the doors, awaiting their lord's appearance, and starting into motion with the same springing activity whenever he gave the signal for marching.

But, as the Highlands of Scotland are far outdone in height and difficulty by the rugged mountains of Talish, so does the Talish mountaineer surpass the Scottish Highlander in the strength, ease, and agility with which he springs up the longest and most precipitous passes. Even the little boys, dashing up the steep faces of the hills after the straying cattle, astonished me by the facility with which they moved along the most dangerous places, as if upon the plainest ground; and I remember, on a trying occasion, envying the wind and powerful muscles of a mountaineer, who, overtaking me after a much longer journey than I had performed, bounded from stump to stump and from rock to rock, with the ease of a mountain-goat, while I could hardly crawl along as we toiled up the steep ascent.

The Talish district is the most eastern portion of Russia south of the Caspian.

*Sheki*, like Shirvan, reduced in 1826, was the domain of Ismael Khan, whom the Persian war had exposed to the arms of Russia. His subjects were chiefly Tartars, to the amount of about forty thousand, with about nine thousand Armenians.

*Karabagh*, with the same elements as Sheki, has them in different proportions; since the Armenians amount to as much as a third of the whole population, *i. e.* to about twenty thousand out of sixty thousand.

Sometimes under Armenian, sometimes under Turkish, sometimes under Persian dominion, Karabagh, with great advantages of soil and climate, seems always to have been misgoverned. It was Persia that it was won from; and that in the war of 1822—Persia having reduced it in 1797.

*Gandzha*—the Tartar and Armenian domain of Dzhevat Khan, was ceded to Russia in 1804.

In Russian Armenia, properly so called, we get, as the name suggests, the *maximum* of the Armenian blood, language, and Christianity. Yet even in Erivan, out of the seventy thousand or eighty thousand inhabitants, one-half appears to be Turkish; so that the Armenians fail to constitute a decided majority. In Nakhitshevan, they are calculated at one-third; the other two-thirds being Turk in language, Persian (*i. e.* Shiite) in creed.

The last, and the most western of these southern districts, is *Akhalzik*, connected in its ethnology with Georgia, rather than either Persia or Armenia, and in its politics with the Porte. Hence, it was a Turkish war which gave it to Russia—the war of 1829, which ended in the treaty of Adrianople.

The basis of the population is Georgian; but of Georgia it belongs to the Lazic rather than that of the proper Georgian portion.

The next in number to the Georgians are the Turks. After these, at different intervals, come Armenians, Kurds, Jews, Gipsies, and Greeks; of which a few families represent the most inland members of that stock. The general character, however, of the district of Akhalzik will become clearer as we proceed. It belongs to Asia Minor rather than to Caucasus Proper.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

War in Caucasus.—Resistance of the Lesgians.—Shamil.

THE preceding chapters have given a rough analysis of the several nations, languages, and creeds of Caucasus; of Caucasus in its widest sense; of Caucasus and Transcaucasia; of Caucasus the mountain-range as distinguished from the Russian Government so-called. Meanwhile, Transcaucasia includes Georgia, Armenia, and several Turk, Tartar, and Persian districts. We have seen the extent to which the population is mixed and heterogeneous; mixed and heterogeneous in blood, creed, and nationality. We have seen, moreover, that these differences by no means coincide with definite geographical areas; that within the same district there are Turks, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Sunnites, Shiites, Christians. The opinion has also been given that, for the greater part of *Trans*caucasia, whatever may have been the grounds on which it was originally annexed to Russia, the rule of the Czar is, by no means, a practical evil; especially for Georgia and Armenia, Christian countries, which have, with few exceptions, been either under the Ottomans or the Persians, or, what is worse, a battle-field between them.

That Armenia was once a powerful country is true: but the times of its power were those of the Roman Empire; the times of more than seventeen hundred years back. In the Middle Ages it was of no political importance; indeed, the Armenian family, like that of the Jews, seems to have been broken-up early. Armenia was one of the earliest Christian kingdoms; but, at the very beginning of its Christianity, it was involved in a contest against the Sassanian Fire-worshippers of Persia; and, when the Sassanian dynasty was overthrown, Fire-worship was superseded by Mahometanism—equally hostile to the creed and nationality of Armenia. When the Turk invasions began Armenia was overrun. Babylon and Mesopotamia were first attacked, and then

the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates were followed-up until they led to the range of Ararat. The mountains here were sufficient to preserve the creed, the language, and some fragments of the original independence; but the political importance and the separate existence of the nation was broken-up. Yet Armenia gave a dynasty to Constantinople; and, during the crusades more than one Armenian chieftain took the real or titular name of prince. The Mongol invasion prostrated the whole nation; since which the Turks and Kurds have nearly divided Armenia between them. As a Christian, a lettered, a civilized nation, it commands attention; but, at the same time, it is scarcely possible to imagine the combination of circumstances that should give the Armenians the chance of being again what they have been.

Georgia is in a somewhat different predicament. Its early history, by no means so important as that of Armenia, is obscure. Still it transcends the date of the introduction of Christianity. Its later history, on the other hand, is a prominent one. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, Georgia was pre-eminently the Christian country of Asia. Independent of the Turks, the Persians, and the Byzantine Greeks, it flourished under a dynasty of native princes; Georges, Davids, &c., especially under its great Queen Thamar. This we learn from its ruins, from its records, from the concurrent history of Trebizond. In calling, however, the Georgian princes native, I mean that they were Caucasian. Some were of Circassian blood; indeed, between Georgia and Circassia the political relations were close. Georgia, however, has the most notable history. It kept what Circassia lost, its Christian creed. It failed, however, in establishing a centralized dominion over the rude tribes of the north; the Iron, the Tshetshents, and the Lesgians. Yet, even among these, especially the Iron, traces of the old civilization of Georgia at its zenith are still to be found.

With Caucasus in general Russia came into early contact. Before the time of Ivan the Terrible, the conqueror of the Khanats of Kazan and Astrakan, there are notices of political relations between Russia and Daghestan. After the conquest of the Khanats they become frequent. The Russian outpost was Astrakan, and starting from Astrakan a Russian army had only to follow the winding outline of the Caspian to reach the north-

eastern spurs of Caucasus. These, however, were scarcely Caucasian. They were rather Turk and Persian. The Tartars had followed the same line as the Russians. The Persians had reached the same points from the south; Shirvan having always been, to a great extent, Persian. Hence, even now, the strips of comparatively level ground between the mountains and the Caspian, are other than Caucasian. They are Turk, Persian, Indian, —Baku, with its springs of burning naphtha, being the occupancy of the Parsis, the Fire-worshippers of the Russian Empire; the only empire, with the exception of the British, which contains within its boundaries an instance of every one of the six lettered creeds:—Judaism, Christianity, Mahometanism, Brahminism, Buddhism, and Parsiism.

On the south, Georgia was independent and Christian. On the north, Astrakan was Russian, having been originally Tartar. On the east, or along the shores of the Caspian, the population was largely Turk, and largely Persian; the political relations being, if not more Persian than Turk, more Persian and Tartar than Ottoman.

The converse was the case on the west. Along the Black Sea the foreign influences were from Constantinople; from Constantinople as the seat of the conquerors of the Greeks and the Genoese.

On the north the dominant foreign Power was the Ottoman, though Ottoman in a modified term. The march or boundary to the north of the Kuban divided the Circassians not so much from either the Turks or the Russians as from the Krim Tartars, with their semi-independent bearing towards the Porte; and with these Krim Tartars the Don Kosaks were, in many respects, allied. They hung as loosely on Russia as the Tartars did on Turkey.

Within these boundaries, lie the pure and proper tribes who have already been noticed; all being mountaineers. The Circassians we may call the western, the Iron and the Tshetshents the central, and the Lesgians the eastern, Caucasians.

How far were these Turkish, and if Turkish, how far were they ever made over to Russia? Their history will help us to an answer on this point. As a preliminary, however, to this, it is well to take cognizance of two other populations—the Kosaks having already been noticed.

1. The Kalmuks of the Mongol emigration.—The movement which brought the Kalmuks from their native country into the parts beyond Astrakan has already been noticed. They occupy a vast block of land between the Volga, Caucasus and the Caspian. Their nomad habits, their loose organization, their predatory aptitudes, make them just the people between whom and the Caucasians or Kosaks quarrels would arise; quarrels which, as the Mongols were undoubted Russian subjects, might bring-in the interference of the Czar; an interference which could be easily regulated by his inclination or opportunities.

2. The Nogays.—Like the Mongols these have been genuine Russian subjects ever since the conquest of the Khanats. Originally their occupancy was in the north, on the Vogul and Ostiak frontier. But they afterwards settled in the parts about Astrakan and along the Kuban. Three out of their seven tribes, the Yedisan, the Dzhedikal, and the Dzhambulat, lie between the Terek and the Kuma, and we shall see that in the Treaty of Belgrad these three tribes are specially named. The Basian, on the watershed of the Kuban and Terek are, *perhaps*, an offset of these Nogays. At any rate, they settled in their present locality from the Kuma.

If we examine the respective rights of the Sultan and the Czar over the parts under notice, as they stood at the beginning of the last century, and follow the history of them, as conveyed in the several treaties which have since been signed, we shall find that whatever may be the claims of Russia upon the inland districts of Circassian, Tshetshents, Lesgian, and Iron Caucasus, they have no foundation in any concessions made by the Porte. They were not the Porte's to give away. What the Porte really possessed at the time was the exclusive command of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. This was Ottoman or Constantinopolitan. The dominion over certain tribes of the Kuban, as far as it was real, was in the hands of the Khan of the Crimea.

"The Czar shall interfere with neither the Poles nor the Kosaks who are dependent upon Poland; nor yet with those of Han Dulet Giray,* but shall leave them on their original footing and withdraw his troops from their country."—*Treaty of the Pruth*, A.D. 1711.

In the Treaty of Belgrad (1739) the name of the Kabarda

* The Khan of the Crimea.

Circassians, or Kabardinians, appears. These are Circassian in language. They consider themselves Circassians in blood. They are Circassians in feeling, habits, and creed. But as some Circassians were once either really, or hypothetically, occupants of a part of the Crimea, the statement has been made that they were originally Kosaks. On the northern boundary of Caucasus, and in a midland district, they lie in contact with both the true Kosaks and the Nogays. They fall into two divisions—the Little, the Great, and run in a long line from west to east.

### *Treaty of Belgrad.*

*Article* 5.—The Kosaks and Kalmuks, subject to his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the Russias, shall commit no hostilities against the Tartars of the Crimea the subjects of the Sultan, &c.

*Article* 6.—In respect to the two Kabardas, the Great and the Little, and the nations that inhabit them, *shall be free. They shall be subject to neither Empire;* but shall be a barrier between them. On the part of the Sublime Porte it is agreed that neither the Turks nor the Tartars shall invade or disturb them; and on that of the Emperor of the Russias, that they shall not be molested; but that, in accordance with the ancient usage, the Emperor of the Russias shall take hostages from both, the Great and the Little, with the sole object of maintaining tranquillity, and that the Porte shall be at liberty to do the same. Should the aforesaid Kabardinians give offence, either party is free to chastise them.

The next treaty is the important one of Kainardzhi, by which the Crimean Tartars were declared independent.

*Article* 1.—All the Tartar peoples, those of the Crimea, of the Budzhak, of the Kuban, the Yedisan, the Dzhambuluk, and the Edikul, shall, without any exception, be acknowledged by the two empires as free nations, and entirely independent of every foreign Power, governed by their own sovereign, of the race of Ghengis Khan, elected and raised to the throne by all the Tartar peoples; which sovereign shall govern them according to their ancient laws and usages; being responsible to no foreign Power whatsoever; for which reason, neither the court of Russia nor the Ottoman Porte shall interfere, under any pretext whatever, with the election of the said Khan, or in the domestic, political, civil, and internal affairs of the same, but, on the contrary, they shall acknowledge and consider the said Tartar nation, in its political and civil state, upon the same footing as the other Powers who are governed by themselves, and are dependent upon God alone. As to the ceremonies of religion, as the Tartars profess the same faith as the Mahometans, they shall regulate themselves, with respect to his Highness, in his capacity of grand Caliph of Mahometanism, according to the precepts prescribed to them by their law, without compromising, nevertheless, the stability of their political and civil liberty.

*Article* 21.—The two Kabardas, namely, the Great and the Little, on account of their proximity to the Tartars, are more nearly connected with the Khans of Crimea; for which reasons it must remain with the Khan of Crimea to consent, in concert with his council and the ancients of the Tartar nation, to these countries becoming subject to the imperial court of Russia.

It is difficult to reconcile this cession of the Kabardas with the express recognition of their independence in the Treaty of Belgrad; no allusion having been made to any act by which either that independence was forfeited, or to any one by which they came under the dominion of the Tartar Khan. It will be seen, however, ere long, that the assumption in a later treaty of a state of things plainly and palpably at variance with the text of an earlier one, is, by no means, confined to the present transaction. A similar variation will show itself in respect to Georgia.

Respecting, however, the Caucasians of the northern frontier, the Caucasians now under notice, the language of the next treaty, that of Yassi, is important. It certainly implies that they were more amenable to the Porte than to Russia. On the other hand, it implies that the Ottoman influence was moral rather than material. After a statement, frequently repeated elsewhere, that the Kuban is the boundary, and that for the left bank of that river Russia has renounced whatever claims she may, at any time previous, have advanced, the sixth article states that, in reference to the tribes of the frontier, the Porte will on her part—

"Employ her good offices and influence to keep them in order and tranquillity, and to prevent them from making incursions on the Russian Empire, or damaging, in person or property, any Russian subject, either openly or in secret, upon any pretext whatever.

"And in order that they may not carry off any slaves, the Sublime Porte will issue the strictest prohibitory orders, engaging, at the same time, to publish them in the parts in question after the ratification of the present treaty."

Then follow details to the effect that where either Russian subjects have been kidnapped into slavery, Russian cattle lifted, or Russian property of any kind stolen, the Porte will either secure the punishment of the offenders or make good the loss sustained. That the language covers a good deal is clear; but an absolute power of cession lies beyond its margin. The real amount of power exercised by the Porte is in a rough way measured by its claims on the Kabardas. These were, to a great extent, independent; how far they were also dependent is another matter. What, however, is transparently clear is this—that no part of the interior of Caucasus was *more* dependent than they.

That the Porte, however, might interpose in the manner suggested by the treaty without being even a suzerain, by its friendly offices, its influence, and (what is not denied) its acknowledged

authority along the sea-coast, is plain when we consider the nature of the aggressions against which it was to guarantee the subjects of the Czar. There was a slave trade; and though, at the present time, Spain cannot make over to any third Power certain petty African kingdoms in the slave-dealing districts on the coast, it could say much as to whether their slave-dealing habits are to be encouraged or put-down. More than this, on the condition of leaving the matter in her hands she could, as a price for the non-interference of anyone else, guarantee to make good losses. If she did this, she would do just what the Porte engaged to do by the Treaty of Yassi.

Such is the view to be taken if we suppose that the articles under notice give us no more than the just pretensions of Turkey. It is certain that they do not give us less. The simple fact is that Circassia, the Iron country, the Tshetshents country, and Legistan were never Turkey's to give.

But the Caucasian highlanders might give offence *proprio motu*, and so bring upon themselves a war which might end in the forfeiture of their independence. The undenied character of their predatory and slave-dealing habits, as shown in the treaties, makes this more than likely. They have probably done so, but more upon this point will be said when the details of the Russian claims on the south, in Georgia and on the Georgian frontier, have been considered.

Ever since Georgia was overrun by the Mongols she was weak as against the Turks, the Persians, and her own neighbours. Ever since Russia became mistress of Astrakan she had a Christian Power within call. How she comported herself to the Czars of the sixteenth century has been seen. There is nothing new in her relation to Russia as a protectress, nothing new in the price paid for protection. Whether the bounds of liberality and even justice have not been overstepped by Russia in the dealings between the two is another question. Whether the acts of the Georgian kings and nobles were the acts of the people is also another question. The Georgian kings became pensioners of Russia, and, in 1800, the last King of Georgia made over his kingdom to the Czar by will.

As between Turkey and Russia, however, the Treaty of Kainardzhi left the matter, after the fashion of Turco-Russian treaties, indefinite.

"The fortresses which are standing in a part of Georgia and of Mingrelia, as Bagdadgick, Kutais, and Scheherban, conquered by the Russian armies, shall be considered by Russia as belonging to those on whom they were formerly dependent; so that if, in ancient times, or for a very long period, they have actually been under the dominion of the Sublime Porte, they shall be considered as belonging to it; and after the exchange of the present treaty the Russian troops shall, at the time agreed upon, quit the said provinces of Georgia and Mingrelia. On its part, the Sublime Porte engages, conformably to the contents of the present article, to grant a general amnesty to all those in the said countries who, in the course of the present war, shall have offended it in any manner whatsoever. It renounces solemnly and for ever to exact tributes of children, male and female, and every other kind of tax. It engages to consider such of these people only as its subjects as shall have belonged to it from all antiquity; to leave and restore all the castles and fortified places which have been under the dominion of the Georgians and Mingrelians, to their own exclusive custody and government; as also not to molest in any manner the religious monasteries and churches; not to hinder the repairing of dilapidated ones, nor the building of new ones; and it promises that these people shall not be oppressed on the part of the Governor of Tschildirsk, and other chiefs and officers, by exactions which despoil them of their property. But as the said people are subjects of the Sublime Porte, Russia must not, in future, intermeddle in any manner in their affairs, nor molest them in any way."

In that of Adrianople, the contrast already alluded to between the *status quo* left in one treaty and the *status quo* assumed in another, repeats itself; this being the repetition alluded to:—

"Georgia, Imeritia, Mingrelia, Gouriel, and several other provinces of the Caucasus, having been *for a long time and in perpetuity* annexed to the Empire of Russia, and this empire having moreover acquired, by the treaty concluded with Persia at Turkmantchai, on the 10th of February, 1828, the Khanats of Erivan and Naktchivan, the two high contracting Powers have been convinced of the necessity of establishing between their respective States, throughout the whole of this line, a well-defined frontier, and such as shall prevent all future misunderstanding. They have likewise taken into consideration the necessary means for opposing insurmountable obstacles to the incursions and depredations which, up to the present time, have been practised by the frontier tribes, and which have so often compromised the relations of amity and good-fellowship between the two empires."

Whence this assumed perpetuity? Georgia, however, being made Russian gives us the phenomenon of a *Trans*caucasia as a Russian Government before Caucasus is Russian. A military road is needed. It passes through the heart of Caucasus. Points of contact between the owners of it and the independent tribes on each side are now multiplied. With an aggressive spirit on one side, with courage, independence, and predatory habits on the other, what can come but a state of war?

I begin with the one which broke out in '27.

A chapter in Haxthausen is specially devoted to the history of this movement; and it is from this that by far the greater portion of the following statements is taken. The name of Haxthausen's authority is not given; neither is it stated how far he was different from Bodensted's. He was, however, a German who had fair means of acquiring information and who committed his account to writing. Still, unless his personal knowledge cover nearly forty years, there is much which he must have taken on trust; since Muridism, not yet extinct, began as early as 1823.

This is its date. In 1823, the Kasi-kumuk and Kurali districts formed the Khanat of Arslan Khan, who either acknowledged the Czar as his suzerain, or was on friendly terms with Russia. At any rate he was, so to say, Russianized. The second in authority to him was the Mullah Mohammed, the Kadi of the Khanat of Jaraih. A small village in Kuri was his residence, and the Mosque at Jaraih is, at the present time, the object of veneration to every Murid in Eastern Caucasus. Here the Mullah Mohammed taught and officiated; blind from intensity of study, ascetic, and incorruptible. For little beyond the quiet virtues suggested by these epithets was the Mullah Mohammed famous until the year 1823.

Another Mohammed then comes in contact with him, a Kazi Mohammed from Bokhara, and sits at his feet as disciple, admirer, and friend. There was no one who so valued the Mullah as Kazi Mohammed, and the Mullah had no disciple, even amongst his own countrymen of Daghestan, whom he loved like Kazi. But the time came for Kazi to go away. He departed, however, only to return after a short absence. And his return was a mystery. He was still the disciple and the admirer, but he was an altered man. He had a secret. Would he tell it to the Mullah? Would the Mullah go with him into Shirvan and drink wisdom from the lips of Hadji Ismael of Kundomir? The Mullah would. So the two friends went, and when they reached the garden of Hadji Ismael they found him cutting-off the young twigs of the mulberry-trees to feed his silk-worms with. Shocked at his impiety (injuries to mulberry-trees being prominent among the *mala prohibita* of the Koran) they expressed their pain and wonder. Could so good a man be

wilfully disobedient? Could so wise a one be darkly ignorant? And now mark the wisdom of Hadji Ismael; and admire the manner in which he taught them that ordinances indifferent in themselves were to be obeyed or neglected according to the circumstances with which they might come in contact. "In Arabia," said he, "where the mulberry is scarce and the climate dry, and where the Koran was written for Arabians, to feed a silkworm with a young branch, would, doubtless, be a crime. But in Shirvan, where the trees are numerous and the twigs grow freely, changes of circumstances change the interpretation of the rule." In this way his visitors were taught to look to the spirit rather than the letter of enactments; and were prepared to hear more from so enlightened an instructor.

They went home instructed. After which a good deal is heard about the Mullah, a very little about the Kazi, and about Hadji Ismael, the Mohametan rationalist of Kundomir in Shirvan—nothing at all. There was a war at this time between Persia and Russia, and many men believed that he was simply an agent from Persia.

Whether true or not as a phenomenon in the region of facts, this belief is an absolute truth in the history of opinions; and, as it is chiefly through opinion that facts act, it must be dealt with as it comes; just like any other fact or no-fact upon the opinions concerning which men may act. That he was what he was supposed to be is very likely. The little we know favours the view. The Mullah was a quiet man till Kazi came, and Kazi came from Bokhara, which is more Persian than Turk; Turk in its dynasty, but Persian in language, intellect, and the nationality of the people in general. The Hadji was found on Persian ground, and talked like a Persian about mulberry-trees. As for the apologue it is one of a numerous kindred. The tyrant of Miletus cut-off the heads of the taller ears of corn. One of the Tarquins decapitated the loftier poppies of Gabii. So at least run two stories of antiquity; which, instead of confirming, invalidate one another. Of course, the two supposed agents may have done so. Neither wheat-stalks nor poppy-heads are hard to knock off. But whether they did this or not, they, doubtless, did, said, or implied much besides, though to tell the details in full would rob the story of its Oriental halo. Real business followed what was

done afterwards; and mysterious apologues, either in words or dumb show, were not the whole of its antecedents.

On the other hand, when a solution is inordinately natural, it is just as likely to be an invention as a reality. The facts tempt the *quidnuncs* of all nations to an hypothesis, and men who know what Jupiter whispered to Juno are to be found in all times and in all countries.

The real truth lies in the character of Mullah Mohammed; and the man who speaks to this from personal knowledge has yet to be found. He seems, from his subsequent history, in which the statements are sufficiently definite to look like facts, to have been as honest a man as his good looks, his ascetic life, and his blindness make us wish to think him.

The general character of Muridism is Persian. It is not a sect. It is rather a political organization with a religious stimulus as the moving power. It is, so to say, a revival; but a revival of a catholic and unsectarian character. It is an ecclesiastical revival—a revival as opposed to a secular decay. It is a protest against the political Erastianism of the representative of the Kalif; with an appeal to the Mahometan world in general, with a special one to the nationality of the Caucasian mountaineers; and it begins in the most Persian part of Caucasus, during a war between Persia and Russia. At the same time, it is not too Persian. Bokhara is Uzbek as well as Sart, Turk as well as Persian. Shirvan is on the confines of Persia. Above all, the Caucasus is in its political relations decidedly Ottoman. Hence, the representative of the Kalif is not the Shah of Persia, but the Sultan of Constantinople. On the other hand, its whole spirit is Persian rather than Turk; and that in its best as well as its worst parts. It is comprehensive. Let the distinction between the Sunnites and the Shiites be merged into the great question of the independence of Mahometanism as a religion. The higher Powers, the Sultans and Shahs, have backslided. They treat the Christian potentates as friends, equals, nay, even as superiors. Let the faithful at large take back what the kings of the earth have surrendered; and let the Church with its Mullahs represent the people.

Let us now, then, take up the personal history of Mullah Mahommed, which up to this time is incomplete, to say the

least of it; incomplete, and not without a suspicious element in it.

It goes on. What he has heard from Hadji Ismael he communicates to Arslan Khan. But Arslan Khan is under obligations to Russia, of whose power he is well aware; besides which he is, probably, grateful for favours to come. So the two meet; each at the head of a following; Arslan Khan with a proud band of warriors behind him, the Mullah with his disciples as men of peace. The Khan knocks the Mullah down: only however, to find that he has gone too far. His own men look grave on the dastardly insult. "What you have done to me God will forgive," says the blind Mullah, "do your duty to Islam and your country." Saying this he won a great moral victory.

The scene now changes to North Daghestan and the frontier of Avaria.

The Khan of Avaria was a minor; for personal prowess a contingent Alexander with an Olympias for his mother. She was strong-minded, fond of being regent, influential over both her son and his brothers. He is sent to listen to Mullah Mohammed's arguments in favour of bringing him over to the good cause; for, if he should prove obstinate and recreant, his Khanat might pass away from him. The years '30 and '31 are the dates for these movements in the direction of Avaria. The name of this minor Khan was Abu Nunzal.

Whatever may have been the honesty, prudence, or mystery of the actors in the field of Muridism up to this time, there is no doubt that in the hero who now comes forward as protagonist we have neither more nor less than a bad, ambitious adventurer, who used the influence of honester men than himself as a means of becoming Khan of Avaria. Gamzad Beg is his name. He simply strives to get Abu Nunzal in his power. Like a lamb to slaughter, Abu Nunzal puts himself in it. He knows what will come: but his evil genius is his mother. She urges him to an interview; an interview which he feels will be a treacherous one. He obeys, however, as if she had been ten times his mother; and is attacked, as he knew he would be.

On the strength of his reported bearing in this treacherous attack, I have compared him to Alexander. Twenty-two is the number of the perfidious clansmen of Ganzad Beg whom he cut

down before he died, like a dog, at their hands. Twenty-two is the number which is said to rest upon the evidence of an eye-witness. After this Mullah Mohammed withdrew from the field of action; and Gamzad Beg and Kazi Mullah, having fought with indifferent success, were superseded by a captain of greater efficiency and a more general reputation.

If we put the full import upon the several details which have just been given respecting the first moving principle, so far as it is known to us, in this Lesgian or Daghestani outbreak, an important point, which is now in danger of being overlooked, must strike us. As matters stand at present, Caucasus, so far as it is considered with reference to any second Power, and so far as its campaigns are not treated as so many points in the history of Caucasus pure and simple, is treated as a complication in the history of Turkey; Turkey being the point upon which all eyes are now more exclusively turned; Turkey being the chief Empire recognized in the consideration of what is called the great Eastern Question. Such is certainly the case in Great Britain, whatever may be the view taken of it in India. Yet, notwithstanding this, the whole biography of the two protagonists, as far as it has hitherto gone, is connected more with Persia than with Turkey. Persia it is whence the parable of the mulberry trees first came. Persia it is which, on the Lesgian or Daghestani side of Caucasus, is most especially in contact with the Caucasian tribes. Above all, it was during a war with Persia that the first impression on the Mullah Mohammed was made. This was the war which ended with the treaty of Turkmanchai. That there was a concurrent war with Turkey is true: but the two ran parallel courses. They were concluded within a short time of one another; and when we study the history of the acquisitions of Russia we find that, about the year 1829, they were considerable. If we stop, however, to analyze the details, we find that they were not all obtained at the expense of one combatant, and that they were not all surrendered by one and the same Power in one and the same treaty. Erivan and the acquisitions on the side of Armenia (to which we may add the Talish country) were conquests from Persia; conquests from Persia recorded in the treaty of Turkmanchai, and not in that of Adrianople. That Persia and Turkey, so far as they have failed in acting together as two Mahometan Powers against a common

enemy, have deserved to lose all they have lost is a matter for the Mahometan (perhaps for the politician, and even the cosmopolitan) to regret. That they have not acted together, however, is no wonder. One is Shiite, the other Sunnite; and, as religious bigotry can never be indulged in with impunity, the consequence has been what we find it. The very partition of Persia was once entertained as an article in a Russian and Turkish compact. Co-operation, then, between the two, even when both were engaged against Russia, has been exceptional if it has ever existed.

The whole character of the first Lesgian outbreaks was Persian. Nor is this all. Inartistic as it may be to tell one story in one part of a work, and to refer to another part of the same work for its complement—to write as it were two chapters in different volumes supplementary to one another—I venture to ask the reader to take, along with the present notice, the account given, in the sequel, of the Ismaeliyeh. In that he will find much that reminds him of what occurred in the Lesgian wars—the same mixture of rationalism and transcendentalism; the same fanaticism; the same blind devotion to individual leaders; the same mystery; the same contempt of life. Above all this he will find that the locality for the two histories thus characterized is nearly the same. Syria, the land of the true Ismaeliyeh, is, doubtless, far from Lesgistan: but Syria was only an affiliated district. The true Ismaeliyeh locality was the neighbourhood of the great Demavend mountain, Demavend being politically Persian, geographically and geologically Caucasian. Is it too much to say that the feeling which showed itself during the time of Shamil, in the way of personal devotion, was, to some extent, endemic?

If this Persian connection be clearly understood it is not difficult to see how the wars of Caucasus during the last thirty years have been in a great measure single-handed contests against a common enemy rather than organized, systematic campaigns. Circassia being the most in contact with Europe has (with the mass at least) represented Caucasus; and, so doing, has had the credit of being the predominantly heroic nation. There are those who have gone so far as to mistake Shamil for a Circassian. To say that he absolutely ignored Circassia; that Circassia absolutely ignored him; that the two fought without any kind of communication or correspondence, would be saying too much. Shamil had dele-

gates, missionaries, or agents, in Circassia; but they were men who watched the course which matters might take rather than actual coadjutors. Anything like a common commander for the two belligerents was never recognized. In this way was strength wasted.

Again, when the Crimean war broke out, whether he were applied to or not, it was as well known as anything can be known for these parts, that Shamil would be neither art nor part in any coalition. What policy, what distrust, what religious fanaticism had to do with this is another question.

Even with the Sultan himself no engagements were to be made; heavy as was the loss through the self-denying ordinance thus imposed.

While Lesgistan gravitated towards Persia, Circassia, so far as she was other than Circassian, was Ottoman.

Again, as stated before, Circassia was feudal and aristocratic, whilst Lesgistan and Tstetshenia were democratic or patriarchal, in their constitutions.

Shamil was born in 1797 at Ghimri or Himri; for the name of the place is spelt both ways, and that in common English books. What he was as a youth rests on floating stories which may or may not rise to the low value of traditions. That he was moody, wayward, impulsive, and open to religious impressions is likely. It is equally likely, that if he were not all this he would be described as being so just the same. What we know about him in England is through German travellers who heard the accounts of German settlers, who heard the accounts of Russian officers, who knew nothing about Shamil until he was old enough to whet his sword against them. He began by attaching himself to Kazi Mullah.

As far as wonderful escapes go, Shamil is the Lesgian Aristomenes—Aristomenes himself, however, being scarcely an historical character. His palmary escapes were three in number.

On the 18th of October, 1832, his birthplace, Himri, was invested by an overwhelming army of Russians. He helped to defend it; being, then, merely a distinguished Murid under Kazi Mullah. In vain. Numbers prevailed. Almost every man was left dead. Kazi Mullah himself died, fighting heroically. Shamil, too,

fought heroically; and for two years was never heard of. At the end of that time he showed himself, and, by simply doing so, congregated a body of enthusiasts around him. All, however, that the most knowing among them knew was that, at the taking of Gumri, he received three wounds. Where had he been in the interval? Some say in Russia; where he had accepted service, taken offence, and become a patriot after being a renegade. Some say in a cave. Some say among the dead, being actually killed, but raised to life in order to be the saviour of his country. One of these stories is about as likely as the other; or rather, the first has been disproved, the second is unlikely, the last impossible. Shamil himself encouraged the mystery. As facts, these are nothing. As measures of what was believed to be believed they are not without their value.

In 1834, the attack of Gamsag Beg on the Khan of Avaria was avenged. The massacre, of which Khunsag was the locality, was general. Two only escaped it. Of these Shamil was one.

Up to this time he was a simple Murid. When Gamsag Beg died there was disorder, anarchy, and despair, among the Lesgians. No one was the universally-acknowledged captain. Tashav Hadji was the nearest approach to one. In 1837, however, Tashav Hadji recognized the ascendency of Shamil, and withdrew in his favour.

Ten years afterwards there was the storming of a fort—Akulko—in the Tshetsh country. It was an action in which the desperate courage of the Tshetshents (whose fame for the defence of Caucasus has been unduly eclipsed by that of the Lesgians and Circassians) showed itself in both sexes. The women stood on a ledge of rock to roll down stones on the assailants, until they were, themselves, cast down from the height—themselves and the children. There was one pinnacle higher than the rest. Upon this the last remnant of the defenders had taken refuge. It was believed by the Russians that Shamil was among them. They had only to keep guard, and either starve or take him. At the dead of night a Lesgian let himself down by a rope—cunningly and stealthily, but only to be taken by the guard. Another followed: and he was taken also. The third, knowing the fate of the others, descended. He wore the dress by which Shamil was known to

the Russians, and was (as he meant to be) captured. A few days afterwards, Shamil had a band of Murids about him in another part of the country.

It was no part of his policy to let his countrymen know how he escaped. He cultivated mystery. We do not know the dates, places, and occasions of his speeches; but the following is a sample of what is believed to have been his oratory:—

"Do not believe that God favours the greatest number! God is on the side of good men, and these are always less numerous than the godless. Look around you, and you will everywhere find a confirmation of what I say. Are there not fewer roses than weeds? Is there not more dirt than pearls, more vermin than useful animals? Is not gold rarer than the ignoble metals? And are we not much nobler than gold and roses, than pearls and horses, and every useful animal put together? All the treasures of the world are transitory, while eternal life is promised us.

"But if there are more weeds than roses, shall we then, instead of rooting out the former, wait till they have quite overgrown and choked the noble flowers? and if our enemies are more numerous than we, is it wise for us to suffer ourselves to be caught in their nets?

"Do not say our enemies have taken Tcherkay, besieged Achulko, and conquered all Avaria! If the lightning strike a tree, do all the other trees bow their heads before it? do they fall down through fear of being also struck? O ye of little faith, follow the example given you by the trees of the forest, which would put you to shame if they had tongues and could speak. And if a fruit is devoured by worms, do the other fruits also rot through fear of being attacked in the same way?

"Do not alarm yourselves because the infidels increase so quickly, and continually send fresh warriors to the battle-field, in the place of those whom we have destroyed, for I tell you, that a thousand poisonous fungi spring out of the earth before a single good tree reaches maturity. I am the root of the tree of liberty: my Murids are the trunk, and you are the branches. But do you believe that the rottenness of one branch must entail the destruction of the entire tree? God will lop off the rotten branches, and cast them into the eternal fire. Return, therefore, penitently, and enrol yourselves among the number of those who fight for our faith, and you will gain my favour, and I will be your protector.

"But if you persist in giving more belief to the seductive speeches of the Christian dogs than to my exhortations, then I will carry out what Kazi Mullah formerly threatened you with. My bands will burst upon your souls like a thunder cloud, and obtain by force what you refuse to friendly persuasion. I will wade in blood. Desolation and terror shall follow me; for what the power of eloquence cannot obtain, must be required by the edge of the sword."

If Muridism began in Mahometan rationalism, it ended in Mahometan Puritanism; and, at the present time, even when Shamil is living easily at St. Petersburg, and when Daghestan is, with the exception of a few outbreaks, a Russian province, the Mahometanism that prevails has an ascetic, rather than a tran-

scendental, character. Both, however, were potent *stimuli;* and under Shamil they had their full sway. The whole of Lesgistan was divided into departments—Naibdoms. When the spirit flagged, Shamil (according to Russian accounts) burnt the villages that the Russians spared, and the Russians spared but little.

After a long contest numbers and organization prevailed. The last stronghold of the Lesgians was Ghunib.

In general aspect, Ghunib does not materially differ from many mountains in its neighbourhood. Some of these are even more escarped, but they want other advantages which Ghunib possesses. It is an isolated oval rock of lime-stone, rising in precipitous and almost inaccessible terraces, between three and four thousand feet from the valleys surrounding it. At one end—I will call it the north, for though, perhaps, it is not strictly so, it will make my description more simple—at the north end, then, the inclination is more gradual, and the Russians have here completed an excellent road as far as a plateau eleven hundred feet above the Kari-Koi-Soo, which runs at its foot, and are preparing to erect upon this a fortress, with hospital, store-houses, &c., and a house for General Lazaroff, the Commander-in-Chief of Daghestan. Above this, again, is a steep range of rocks, and, through a long gully in the middle of these, a zig-zag road leads to the top of the mountain. The extreme length of it is stated to be six versts, the extreme breadth four; but it has not been measured, and I believe it to be one-third more. The Tartar aoul, not far from the north end, has been ascertained to be 4920 feet above the sea; thence there is a continual rise to the south end, which is 7742 feet. The top of the mountain is not a plain surface, as I should have imagined from below, but very much hollowed out, in shape like a shell, the aoul lying in the bottom, and is diversified with rocks and valleys. What constitutes the prime excellence of Ghunib as a natural fortress is, that it is not only so escarped as to be, except at the north end, practically inaccessible, if held by even a moderate force; but that it contains abundantly within itself, everything necessary for the provision of its garrison for an indefinite time. The soil is fertile, and produces, where it is cultivated, fine crops of corn; the rest is covered with long thick grass, upon which the Russian captors found three hundred horses and six thousand sheep at pasture. It is watered by two streams which, rising in the high ground, join near the aoul; they find an exit to the west, where they pour over the rocks down to the valley below, and nourish the fruit-trees and gardens of Hindak. One little rivulet runs into the gully at the north end, and forms a singular waterfall: it comes to the abrupt edge of a cleft in the rock with sufficient force to clear it in a bound, and falls from the opposite side of the cleft to a great depth in a shower of spray, a veritable Staubbach.

On the mountain itself are a very few trees, only one small clump of birches; but fuel abounds in the neighbourhood. Coal, of a fine quality, is plentiful; but, unfortunately, it lies between strata of such hard rock, as not to pay for the working. On the other hand, large fields exist of an inferior kind, mixed with earth, which require little labour to utilize, and which afford the fuel that is generally burned. Capital turf, too, abounds in the district.

No natives are now allowed to live upon the mountain, and the aoul is already falling into decay. The house which Schamyl occupied is the only one kept in repair, and is used as a hospital. It was clean and in good order. One room

was filled by Tartar invalids from the neighbourhood, who, even in bed, wore their shaggy caps upon their shaven heads. The kindness shown to them is only one instance of the conciliating treatment which I everywhere observed to be pursued by the Russians towards the inhabitants of the country.

Such was the last stronghold of the Eastern Caucasus. There were but four hundred men and two cannons to defend it. But the place, as has been seen, was a natural fortification; and it had been improved by art. Three walls had been drawn across the gully at the north end. This was considered the only passage by which an entrance could be made. The ground about was rocky, so that the progress of the Russians in the way of regular approaches was slow.

These were abandoned for a general attack. There were twelve thousand Russians against the four hundred Lesgians. But, at the head of the Lesgians, was Shamil. There were some among his soldiers who had devoted themselves to death in battle. There were some renegades from the Russian armies who had no hopes but in victory. There was not a man whose heart misgave him. There was not a woman who was not prepared to fight and die by his side—as many of them actually did.

The place was stormed: and on the surrender of Shamil the war in Eastern Caucasus ended. "On the walls of one of the reception rooms, in the palace of the Viceroy at Tiflis, beside glittering trophies of arms, is hung up the plain leathern saddle, in which he rode to a conquest of which he might well be proud, for it terminated a long, weary contest, in which Russia had not always the advantage. In a large plaster map, in the same room, where the whole chain of the Caucasus is shown in relief, a gilded spot marks the summit of Ghunib." *

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We may now turn to Circassia. The Treaty of Adrianople, signed 1829, runs thus:—

All the countries situated to the south and west of this line of demarcation towards the Pashalics of Kars and of Trebizond, together with the greater part of the Pashalik of Akhaltzik, shall remain in perpetuity under the dominion of the Sublime Porte; whilst those which are situated to the north and east of the said line, towards Georgia, Imeritia, and Gouriel, *as well as the whole of the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kouban as far as the Port of St. Nicholas, inclusively, shall remain in perpetuity under the dominion of the Empire of Russia.* In consequence of which the Imperial Court of Russia gives

* Marshall; Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel for 1862.

up and restores to the Sublime Porte the remaining portion of the Pashalic of Akhaltzik, the city and the Pashalic of Kars, the city and the Pashalic of Bayazid, the city and the Pashalic of Erzerom, as well as the places occupied by the Russian troops, and which are situated without the above-mentioned line.

In 1833 followed the more important treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. It made the Black Sea a Muscovite lake. Of all the compacts between Russia and Turkey which have ever been drawn-up, none has created so much jealousy and distrust as this. Yet it appears at first to be a very innocent one. It stipulates that there shall be a defensive alliance between the two Powers; that there shall be an "unreserved understanding" between them "upon all matters which concern their respective tranquillity and safety;" and that they "shall afford to each other for this purpose substantial aid and the most efficacious assistance." In the third article the Czar—

In the event of circumstances occurring which should again determine the Sublime Porte to call for the naval and military assistance of Russia, Russia, although if it please God, that case is by no means likely to happen, engages to furnish, by land and by sea, as many troops and forces as the two high contracting parties may deem necessary. It is accordingly agreed, that in this case, the land and sea forces, whose aid the Sublime Porte may call for, shall be held at its disposal. In conformity with what is above stated, in the event of one of the two Powers requesting the assistance of the other, the expense only of provisioning the land and the sea forces, which may be furnished, shall fall to the charge of the Power who shall have applied for the aid. Although the high contracting parties sincerely intend to maintain this engagement to the most distant period of time, yet, as it is possible that in process of time circumstances may require that some changes should be made in this treaty, it has been agreed to fix its duration at eight years from the day of the exchange of the imperial ratifications. The two parties, previously to the expiration of the term, will concert together, according to the state of affairs at that time, as to the removal of the said treaty. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Constantinople within the space of two months, or sooner if possible.

The present instrument, consisting of six articles, and to be finally completed by the exchange of the respective ratification, having been agreed upon between us, we have signed it, and sealed it with our seals, in virtue of our full powers, and have delivered it to the plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Ottoman Porte in exchange for a similar instrument.

Thus far there is nothing of which the Powers of Western Europe could reasonably complain. The alliance might be distasteful to them: but it was by their own laches that the Sultan had been thrown into the arms of the Czar. The Pasha of Egypt had overrun not only Syria but a great portion of Asia

Minor; and was within a few days' march of Scutari. England had been applied to for assistance; but in vain. France the same. Russia, to whom recourse was had in the last extremity—. Russia, considered, and that rightly, as a remedy almost as bad as the disease—gave what was required—promptly and effectively.

It was not, however, in any of the preceding articles that her payment is to be found. The following is a separate one—separate and secret.

In virtue of one of the clauses of the first article of the patent treaty of defensive alliance concluded between the Imperial Court of Russia and the other mutually substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance for the safety of their respective dominions. Nevertheless, as His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to spare the Sublime Ottoman Porte the expense and inconvenience which might be occasioned to it by affording substantial aid, will not ask for that aid if circumstances should place the Sublime Porte under the obligation of furnishing it, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need, according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles, that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatsoever. The present separate and secret article shall have the same force and value as if it was inserted word for word in the treaty of alliance of this day.

It was only, however, for a time that the secret portion of the treaty remained a secret. It was soon suspected; and the refusal on the part of the Porte to allow a French man-of-war to pass through the Bosphorus brought the whole affair to light. Without doubt, both as against England and France, Russia, at this time, carried matters with a high hand. There is always a certain amount of Russophobia in both countries. But between '30 and '40 it had reached its climax. Then came the affair of the *Vixen*.

The *Vixen* belonged to Messrs. Bell of London—merchants. It was chartered with a cargo of salt for one of the Circassian ports—Circassian as opposed to Russian. Its owners wished to know how far these ports were blockaded, how far they were free. They applied to the English Government for information. The Government referred them to the *Gazette*. The *Gazette* gave no notice of a blockade; nor had one been notified. That there was war between the Circassians and the Russians was known. It was also known that it partook more of the nature of a guerilla than a great campaign. That a blockade was thought probable is an inference from the inquiry.

The details of the case, as they appeared when Mr. Bell applied for redress, were obscure. It was doubtful whether his ship were confiscated under the regulations of a blockade between two acknowledged belligerents, or on the charge of having violated certain Custom-house regulations, and, by so doing, having come under the category of a smuggler. That it carried gunpowder for the Circassians was admitted. The decision, however, was that the owner had no claim against Russia.

The following are samples of political rhetoric for these times. The first is a Circassian Declaration of Independence:—

"The inhabitants of Caucasus, instead of being subject to Russia, are not even at peace with her, but have for many years been engaged in perpetual war. When the Porte held the supremacy of these provinces, they were left for their means of defence to themselves, but lately the Porte has in every way betrayed and abandoned them. Who has power to give us away? our allegiance is offered to the Sultan, but if he is at peace with Russia, he cannot accept it, for Circassia is at war; our allegiance is a free offering, he cannot sell, because he has not bought it."

The Russian answer runs thus:—

"What is it you look for? Are you not aware that if the Heavens should fall Russia could prop them with her bayonets? The English may be good mechanics and artizans, but power dwells only with Russia. No country ever waged successful war against her. Russia is the most powerful of all nations. If you desire peace, you must be convinced that there are but two powers in existence, God in Heaven, and the Emperor upon earth."

To which the rejoinder is:—

"Of all nations under Heaven, the greatest and most powerful, is England; she takes precedence of all, and is never guilty of falsehood. How do you presume to say she is false? We know that when France invaded Egypt, and attacked the Mamelukes, she was expelled from it by England, who thus earned the gratitude of Circassians. You speak too loftily when you talk of destroying this country: such language becomes the Almighty alone. You seem to think you can do all you please, but though we be but a small nation, with God's blessing, and the succour of England, we will resist you still." *

I give these as I find them, without answering for their genuineness.

And, now it is upwards of thirty-two years since the Treaty of Adrianople was signed; and the whole of those thirty-two years has been taken-up in fighting against the Russians on the part of Circassians—the proper Circassians of the drainage of Kuban as opposed to the Kabardinians. In this warfare the Apkhazes

* Annual Register for 1837.

have taken a share. Still, on the whole, the fight has been single handed. The Porte has never been able to help the combatants. No other Power has been willing to do so.

Our policy during the Crimean war was creditable. Upon the principle of embarrassing the enemy as much as possible, we were free to avail ourselves of the courage and independence of any or all of the tribes of Caucasus, especially of those of Circassia; which, from their geographical position, might have readily and effectively helped. The self-denying ordinance, however, with which we began the war prevented us from entangling ourselves with such an alliance; an alliance, which would, doubtless, have been profitable for the time, but which, when the war was over, would have reduced us to the alternative of either insisting on impossible conditions or of betraying our allies. The Circassians, who are at present in England, think it necessary to excuse themselves for having failed to co-operate with us; attributing their non-action to the influence of an unpatriotic faction of which the land has now, fortunately, disencumbered itself. But no such excuse is needed. No co-operation was asked. That the chronic state of hostility continued is true enough; but the Circassian contests and the Crimean campaign were concurrent, rather than co-ordinate, events.

In thirty years there is ample time for the adoption of new lines of policy. Hence, the period has not been one of pure and simple fighting. The system of allowing the Russian soldiers to meet and mingle with the Circassians, at certain periods, on certain occasions, at common markets, was, *inter alia*, resorted to. Nor was it without effect. There was a certain amount of fraternization. There was also, unless some of the greedier chiefs are belied, the opportunity for bribery. And, in undermining the independence of Circassia, this has the credit of having done something. Still the struggle continues.

That a few months ago two delegates found their way to this country is well known. They are here now, but they have not prospered in their embassy. They are of different tribes; but they emphatically state that they represent the whole nation, and this they put at a million of individuals. The case that they laid before the English Government is, undoubtedly, true to a great extent; and, perhaps, wholly so. It is probable that the

intestine feuds by which Circassia in the days of its full independence was cut up into a congeries of small tribes, separated from each other by intestine quarrels, have been so far abated as to allow the country to be consolidated into either a single nation or a compact confederacy. It is probable that the old anarchy has been repressed. That there is a Circassian constitution, and that it is formed on true mechanical principles, and that it would, if known in England, be approved by Englishmen, is not impossible. Still, these are matters upon which few among us are competent to form an opinion.

But upon the great fact that Russia has no title to Circassia, except that of success in its aggression, there is neither doubt nor shadow of doubt. What the Sultan made over to the Czar by the Treaty of Adrianople was not his to give.

That Russia will be checked in its present career of conquest in Caucasus by the intervention of any Western Power is unlikely; however little any of them may approve her aggressions; however much they may all see through the flimsy plausibilities with which she disguises them; and however much they may sympathize with the combatants. When any really great contest comes on (for the Crimean war can only be treated as a costly demonstration), the importance of these brave mountaineers will be revived.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Germans of the Baltic Provinces.—Distribution of the Jews.—The Gypsies.—The Turks.

THE Germans of the Baltic Provinces, when we compare them with the native population of the Lets and Estonians, are the Germans of a dominant class, of a landed aristocracy, of a feudal system. This they are as the descendants of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the Knights of the Sword, the crusaders of the thirteenth century, who conquered Cúrland, Livonia, and Estonia, as a church militant under a papal bull; much as the Spaniards, under Cortez and Pizarro, conquered Mexico and Peru; preaching Christianity by means of fire and sword, and making solitudes where they granted peace. Their history is written in blood, and it will again be noticed when Prussia comes into view. It has, partly, however, been alluded to already when the Lets and Estonians were under consideration.

The power of these knightly orders was first abridged by the conquests of Poland and Sweden; and when Cúrland became Russian their position was wholly changed.

They were then an aristocracy under restrictions and under the central domination of Russia. This is what they are at present.

But besides being feudal, the German element in these parts is commercial and industrial as well; and the contrast between the great lords of the open country and the burghers of the municipalities, which shows itself so prominently in the history of the Germans of The Empire is repeated in the relations between the towns like Memel, Riga, and Revel, and the nobles. As compared with those of the indigenous population, the wealth, power, and privileges of Cúrland, Livonia, and Estonia are German. The more we move eastward the less German the land becomes; Cúrland being more German than Livonia, Livonia than Estonia.

Even in the Government of St. Petersburg traces of the original Germanism of the days of The Order occur. The same applies to Sweden. Estonia and Livonia are, or have been, more Swedish than Cúrland.

And this German character is recognized. The only university in Russia where the language of the lectures is other than Russian is that of Dorpat, which, as far as the professional element is concerned, is as much a German university as those of Jena or Bonn are German. How far are these Germans Russian? In what account must they be held when we talk of German nationality and German unity? Are they factors in the question of a united Germany? Do they gravitate towards Berlin or towards Vienna? Do they gravitate towards either? Are they Germans in the way that a man from Holstein, or Germans in the way that an Alsatian, is a German? Again, how German is an Alsatian, whom the Parisian is willing to consider as good a Frenchman as himself, but whom many a German is loath to believe is, even now, beyond the influence of the mother-tongue and the father-land?

The answer to this in detail, and in a precise form, is impossible. It is only safe to say that the Germans under notice are, for all the purposes of practical nationality, very good and safe Russians. They are beyond the appeal for a United Germany; and, probably, the Alsatians are the same. What events may bring out hereafter is another question.

The name by which they designate themselves is *Saxon*. This is what they call themselves as the Germans of Russia; though, of course, when they insist upon their affinities rather than their differences, and accommodate their language to men who think more of Germany than Russia, they are *Deutsche*. Still, the name by which they designate themselves, spontaneously and on their own soil, is Saxon.

On the other hand they are Protestants; and their Protestantism is undisturbed.

Of the German literature the influence, whatever it may be in amount, is largely diluted. They look more to France than the genuine German is inclined, and to Russia more than he is able, to look.

Their political history has only been German so far as that of Russia itself has been so: and the fact of their being on the

same side with the Prussians and Hanoverians at the great national rebellion of Germany against France has its explanation in the policy of Russia rather than in the awakening of Germany. They fought side by side with the men of their own language because the same great alliance contained both Russians and Westphalians. Perhaps it is not too much to say that they are Germans in the way that the Channel Islanders are Frenchmen, which, in the eyes of the political ethnologist, is very little.

But, because they are scarcely German after the fashion of Heidelberg or Munich, it, by no means, follows that they are Russian after the fashion of Archangel or Pultava. Each has much which a Russian wants; partly because he is a German, and partly because his civilization is that of Western Europe in general. So far as he shows this, he exhibits a character which, whilst it separates him from the Russian, connects him with the Frenchman or the Englishman; and, of such advantages as this carries with it, the Germans, as a body, have the credit of having made the most. Their influence in high official places has decreased; but, at one time, the position of a German in Russia was akin to that of a Greek in the Ottoman empire. Whilst the dominant stock was ignorant or indolent, or (what was much the same) supposed to be so, he had an approximate monopoly of everything that required headwork. Hence, influence; and, with influence, jealousy on the part of the native Russian. The German of the Baltic provinces was favoured in the army and the administration at his expense; and, in like manner, the German adventurer of Germany Proper, the Italian, the Englishman, and the Scotchman got, not rarely, favoured at the expense of the German of Russia. The phase, however, that the real or supposed deficiency of native ability which this system indicates is fast passing-by. Still, even now, it is well in Russia to be a German. And Russia gains by it. It is no part of the present work to uphold the doctrine that any original difference of what we, either to conceal or to publish our ignorance, call *race* accounts for the difference in the national life of nations. I rather treat the word *race* like a similar word in medicine, *sympathy*; *i. e.* as an abstraction, in which we can only take such concrete elements as analysis may give us; but for which we are too often unwilling or unable to search. Notable differences in the

opportunities of acquiring experience; notable differences in the conditions under which the thinking part of our organization finds the necessary conditions for its activity; along with obscure and uninvestigated points in what may be called microscopic psychology respecting the hereditary transmission of aptitudes, are the real factors in the question; an obscure one, it is true, but, through its very obscurity, one which becomes an object worthy of scientific criticism.

With these doctrines, the notion of any inherent and aboriginal superiority of the German or Teutonic mind over the Slavonic is wholly foreign to the views which the present writer has got from his previous researches in ethnology. Yet he admits, that, from circumstances too numerous to be here investigated, these same Germans have been one of the favoured divisions of mankind, and that, out of two families starting with the same opportunities at the beginning of a millennium, they have, at the end, come out the better.

Apart from such definite prerogatives as the free use of the language of Göthe and the unrestricted exercise of the religion of Luther—prerogatives which though they have certainly been developed through the fact of the Germans of the Baltic provinces having come from Germany—prerogatives which, though connected with nationality, are by no means its essence—prerogatives, too, which, though they may be called the accidents of a nationality, are of far higher value and of far greater reality than the general abstraction of nationality itself—apart from these prominent realities, the Saxons, as it is convenient to call them, of Cúrland, Liefland, and Estonia can only, in a work like the present, be noticed in order to be ignored. They are a minority in the land. They are strangers in the land. The movement which on the strength of a united Germany or any similar cry, should attach them to Russia would be notable only for its anti-nationality. For one German in the right, it would put twenty Lets or Estonians in the wrong, place. That the twenty might be satisfied with the removal is possible; and, if they were so, well and good. But that the German element in Letland and Liefland is, on the simple ground of its Germanism, to carry with it a German nationality for Lets and Livonians is a doctrine which is noticed only to be condemned.

On the other hand to accommodate the German nationality to the Let or Estonian, if such an accommodation were likely, would be to go too much the other way. The difficulties of a divided nationality on the same ground are, here as elsewhere, an element of serious difficulty.

If there is much that a German of Russia loses by not being of Germany, there is something that he gains. The feeling of belonging to a really powerful, instead of some petty State or unwieldy confederation, is one of his advantages, and, by no means, the least.

Still he is, to some extent, in danger; a danger lying in the fact, that he is exceptional to the general Russianizing system of Russia; so that the strength of the Czar is his weakness. At any time a language-question may arise. Russia presses towards the sea-side, and her overflowings are inexhaustible. Against dangers of this kind Prussia is what they must look to; not to Prussia because she is simply German, but because she is German, Protestant, powerful, and on the frontier. But Prussia has much to do before anyone will look to her for bold interference, Prussia, at least, as she is made by her dynasty rather than her people.

Of the Germans and the Non-germans taken together, it is difficult to predicate anything very general. There is no nation with which they can unite in feeling or sympathies. The Lets are, probably, best contented to be under the same government as the Lithuanians; the Estonians under the same as the Fins. For any former ruler or suzerain there can scarcely be any feeling at all. The Swedes have left as little to be thanked for as the Poles; the Danes as little as the Swedes. Simple independence, by the majority of those who think about it at all, is probably thought dangerous.

In districts like the ones under notice internal improvement, with security for such advantages as may be already possessed, is the best policy. They may supply all the world with flax and hemp, and half of it with wood and tallow. The land is essentially fitted for agriculture: the people fitted to till it; the ports, at least, on a level with any to the north of Copenhagen.

That these Germans are in continuity with the Germans of Prussia is well-known; and I only remark that it is this fact of their continuity which, placing them in the present chapter, sepa-

rates them from the Germans of the next, or the German colonists of the Russian empire; along with whom will be noticed several other populations of less importance, but agreeing with them in the fact of their having been introduced into Russia not only from other lands but within a recent period. Two of these will be the Poles and Valachians, for Polish and Valachian settlements of the kind in question are to be found in Russia. On the other hand, however, there are both Poles and Valachians in continuity with their countrymen of Valachia and Poland. Being this, they are the analogues of the Germans now under notice. The present, however, is scarcely the most convenient time for noticing them. When Poland and Valachia come under notice as separate nationalities they will find their fittest place.

* * * * *

Of the *Jews* of Russia the following is the table of Köppen for 1844.

| *Talmudic.* | |
|---|---|
| Volhynia | 195,030 |
| Podolia | 150,485 |
| Kiev | 103,326 |
| Grodno | 99,592 |
| Minsk | 88,880 |
| Mohilev | 83,715 |
| Kovno | 82,664 |
| Vitepsk | 47,649 |
| Bessarabia | 42,380 |
| Kurland | 23,486 |
| Kherson | 22,424 |
| Tshernigov | 18,400 |
| Poltava | 16,140 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 6,139 |
| Tauris | 4,110 |
| Viatka | 58 |
| | 1,054,407 |

| *Karaits.* | |
|---|---|
| Tauris | 4,198 |
| Kherson | 446 |
| Vilna | 424 |
| Kovno | 337 |
| Volhynia | 320 |
| | 5,725 |

Of the *Gypsies* the following:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bessarabia | 18,738 | Yaroslav | 493 |
| Tauris | 7,726 | Podolia | 464 |
| Voronezh | 2,586 | Tshernigov | 458 |
| Kherson | 2,516 | Ekaterinoslav | 425 |
| Moscow | 1,200 | Mohilev | 424 |
| Kursk | 1,200 | Don Kosaks | 408 |
| Karkov | 1,166 | Saratov | 385 |
| Kiev | 880 | Pskov | 369 |
| Smolensk | 808 | Nizhgorod | 369 |
| Poltava | 775 | Novogorod | 344 |
| Kaluga | 659 | Viatka | 338 |
| Vitepsk | 607 | Tula | 315 |
| Riazan | 595 | Perm | 265 |
| Samar | 511 | Kostroma | 264 |
| Orlov | 510 | Minsk | 257 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| St. Petersburg | 254 | Penza | 120 |
| Kazan | 188 | Vilna | 107 |
| Simbirsk | 171 | Orenburg | 85 |
| Kovno | 169 | Grodno | 83 |
| Tver | 160 | Kurland | 60 |
| Vologda | 160 | Stauropol | 42 |
| Tambov | 147 | Archangel | 25 |
| Volhynia | 143 | Livonia | 6 |
| Olonets | 142 | | |
| Vladimir | 130 | | 48,247 |

The following gives the *Turks*; including the Nogays, but not including the Turks of Siberia.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kazan | 308,574 | Riazan | 4,725 |
| Tauris | 275,822 | Minsk | 2,120 |
| Orenburg | 230,080 | Vilna | 1,874 |
| Stauropol | 96,037 | Grodno | 849 |
| Samar | 83,927 | Don Kosaks | 629 |
| Simbirsk | 67,730 | Kovno | 415 |
| Viatka | 57,944 | Kostroma | 262 |
| Saratov | 46,713 | Podolia | 46 |
| Penza | 34,684 | Estonia | 12 |
| Nizhnigorod | 22,788 | | |
| Astrakan | 21,092 | | 1,284,234 |
| Perm | 17,271 | | |
| Tambov | 10,640 | | |

These are given in the present chapter rather than the last because they are old sporadic occupants rather than true colonists.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Colonists, &c., in Russia.—Germans.—Bulgarians.—Servians.—Armenians.—Greeks, &c.

THE influx of foreign colonists into Russia began with the foundation of St. Petersburg; being encouraged by the founder. It was not, however, until the reign of Catherine II. that the immigrations took an organized form, and that a special chancery for the protection of foreign settlers was instituted. To all the nations of the world, with the exception of the Jews, an invitation to fix themselves in the parts about St. Petersburg was issued. The settlers were to be regulated in their dealings with each other by the custom of the settlement. They were not to be disturbed in their religion; on the other hand, they were not to disturb any one else. Mahometans they might convert if they could. If they could not, they might keep them as slaves; but of Christians of a different denomination they were distinctly forbidden to make proselytes. They were to pay no taxes for thirty years, and were not liable to the conscription.

Such privileges were sufficiently tempting, and in 1762 the first of the German colonies was planted in the parts about St. Petersburg, viz. New Saratovka, Sredniaia Rogatka, and the Izhora. These are the Russian names. The settlers, themselves, however, know the first two under a different name, derived from the number of families introduced by the original settlement. Hence, the New Saratovka is the Sechziger Colony, or the Sixty; Sredniaia Rogatka, the Zwei-und-Zwanziger, *i.e.* Two and-twenty. The Sixties were chiefly from Brandenburg and Würtemburg. All three were Protestant. A colony on a private estate of Count Orlov was founded in the same year.

Two years afterwards the parts about Yamburg became Ger-

manized; the settlers being from the Palatinate, Hesse Darmstadt, Rhenish Prussia, and Suabia. The majority here was Roman Catholic.

| | Families. | R. Catholics. | Lutherans. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In the Porkhov Colony | 9 | 48 | 47 | 95 |
| „ Frankfürt „ | 4 | 50 | 17 | 67 |
| „ Luzkaia „ | 15 | 63 | 27 | 90 |

The Cronstadt colony belongs to the present century, being founded by the Emperor Alexander in 1808. Another was founded in 1810, in the Circle of Zarskoiezelo, the settlers being from Baden, Würtemburg, and Prussia. The locality, however, disappointed them, and a series of small secondary colonies elsewhere was the result, the details of which may be found in the careful and minute paper of Köppen's, from which the present notice is taken.

The Friedenthal Colony dates from 1819. The Grazdanka Colony from '30. The Znamen Colony from '43: the Friedenthal being from Berg.

In 1849 the Germans of the town of St. Petersburg are calculated as:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Lutherans | 31,417 |
| Roman Catholic | 5,015 |
| Reformed | 2,461 |
| Hernhuthers | 22 |
| | 38,915 |

*Germans of Russia in generol.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Saratov | 62,500 | Tshernigov | 1,500 |
| Livonia | 51,340 | Vitepsk | 1,300 |
| St. Petersburg | 50,800 | Kiev | 1,200 |
| Samar | 46,900 | Podolia | 1,126 |
| Kurland | 38,593 | Novogorod | 1,100 |
| Kherson | 31,700 | Stauropol | 1,036 |
| Tauris | 22,324 | Orenburg | 1,034 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 13,232 | Poltava | 800 |
| Bessarabia | 10,200 | Vilna | 765 |
| Estonia | 10,000 | Karkov | 650 |
| Moscow | 8,000 | Pskov | 557 |
| Grodno | 5,355 | Kazan | 550 |
| Volhynia | 4,000 | Archangel | 450 |
| Voronezh | 1,900 | Kursk | 400 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Minsk | 330 |
| Perm | 300 |
| Astrakan | 250 |
| Penza | 250 |
| Smolensk | 229 |
| Riazan | 227 |
| Tambov | 227 |
| Nizhnigorod | 204 |
| Mohilev | 200 |
| Orlov | 200 |
| Tver | 200 |
| Tula | 180 |
| Simbirsk | 158 |
| Kaluga | 132 |
| Viatka | 120 |
| Olonets | 120 |
| Vladimir | 100 |
| Vologda | 100 |
| Yaroslav | 100 |
| Kostroma | 50 |
| Don Kosaks | 11 |
| | 373,000 |

## *Colonies other than German.*

*Servians (of New Servia).*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Ekaterinoslav | 858 |
| Kherson | 436 |
| Bessarabia | 89 |
| | 1393 |

*Bulgarians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Kherson | 11,132 |
| Tauris | 1,234 |
| | 12,366 |

*Poles.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In St. Petersburg | 19,149 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 8,000 |
| Livonia | 3,213 |
| Kherson | 850 |
| Bessarabia | 733 |
| Estonia | 13 |
| | 31,958 |

*Swedes.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Kherson | 168 |

*Rumanyos.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Kherson | 75,000 |
| Ekaterinoslav | 9,858 |
| Podolia | 7,429 |
| | 92,287 |

*Greeks.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Ekaterinoslav | 32,633 |
| Tauris | 5,426 |
| Kherson | 3,500 |
| Bessarabia | 3,353 |
| Tshernigov | 1,791 |
| Podolia | 50 |
| Astrakan | 20 |
| | 46,783 |

*Armenians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Ekaterinoslav | 14,931 |
| Stauropol | 9,000 |
| Astrakan | 5,272 |
| Tauris | 3,960 |
| Bessarabia | 2,353 |
| Kherson | 1,990 |
| St. Petersburg | 170 |
| | 33,686 |

*Georgians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Stauropol | 710 |
| Astrakan | 290 |
| | 1000 |

*Circassians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Don Kosaks | 130 |
| Samar and Simbirsk | (?) |

*Iron.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Stauropol | 1,650 |

*Persians.—A. Kuzzilbash.—*

| | |
|---|---|
| Astrakan | 460 |
| Samar | 186 |
| | 646 |

*B. Sarts.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Astrakan and Orenburg | (?) |

*Indians.†*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Astrakan | 10 |

*French.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Bessarabia | 250 |

*Albanians.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Bessarabia | 1,328 |

*Mordvins.*

| | |
|---|---|
| In Tauris | 340 |
| Astrakan | 48 |
| | 388 |

* Persians of Bokhara.

† To these add the Fire-worshippers of Baku, on the Caspian.

All, or nearly all, of these may be looked upon as colonists in the strict sense of the term, *i. e.* either as men and women transplanted on an organized definite plan, from Germany or elsewhere, into Russia, or as men and women who, on account of some change in their own country, got leave to place themselves under the protection of the Czar. They are generally from distant districts, and, when compared with their countrymen left at home, disconnected and isolate. None of them give the phenomena of spontaneity of movement and of continuity of frontier with the land they left.

The nearest approach to anything of this kind; the colonization which most partakes of the nature of a spontaneous emigration; the one which is most closely connected with the geographical and political relations between Russia and Turkey is that of the Bulgarians—the Bulgarians of the Governments of Bessarabia, of Kherson, and of Tauris. As early as the middle of the last century emigration from the south of the Danube set in; the first Bulgarian families who crossed that river amounting to six hundred and twenty families. Poland was the first country to which they betook themselves; but in Poland they failed to establish themselves. So that Elizabeth's colony of New Servia* took up most of them. These may be called the Bulgarians of the first emigration.

In the war between 1787 and 1791, and, again, in the war between 1806 and 1812, concluded by the treaty of Bukarest, fresh emigrants moved northwards; Bessarabia being the land to which they more especially directed their way. Meanwhile during the peace that intervened between 1801 and 1806, a special colonization, *eo nomine*, and under the direct sanction of the Government, was effected in the Governments of Kherson and Tauris.

At first the colonists gained little by their removal—or, to speak more accurately, they were no true colonists at all. Settled in a random and haphazard manner, sometimes on the property of private individuals and sometimes on commons—squatters rather than settlers—they had to a great extent become serfs *de facto* if not *de jure*. They were, in short, in a fair way of becoming *adscripti glebæ*. Such, at least, was the claim upon many of them that was urged by the Rumanyo landowners, on whose grounds

* They are, apparently, treated as Servians in Köppen's statistical tables.

they had settled. The colonial organization of the settlements in Tauris and Kherson saved them from this. At their urgent request they were put on the favoured level of colonists. More than this, the colonial character was given to the locality.

These Bessarabians may fairly be called Bulgarian colonists; so much more are they Bulgarian rather than aught else; as may be seen from the following table of Köppen's for 1850.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bulgarians . . . . . | 69,525 |
| ——— Gypsies . . . . . | 56 |
| Moldavians . . . . . | 12,805 |
| Little Russians . . . . . | 1,440 |
| Albanians . . . . . | 1,308 |
| Greeks . . . . . | 307 |
| | 85,441 |

The Bulgarians fall into two divisions, the *Black Bulgarians* and the *Gagauz*.—The latter came from the Dobrudzha between 1804 and 1812, the former are subdivided into the

1. Black Bulgarians and Macedonians, and

2. Black Bulgarians of Rumanyo origin. The former came in 1830, the latter at the same time with the Gagauz.

The Gagauz speak Turkish and write in the Romanyo alphabet.

The Black Bulgarians speak Bulgarian—those of Macedonian origin writing it in Greek, those of the Rumanyo countries in Slavonic characters.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### The Russians.

FROM the broken populations of the northern half of Siberia we turned to the stronger and more influential families of the Tungús, the Mongols, and the Turks; and from these, ascending in the scale of historical importance, we now pass to a family which has obtruded itself upon them with the same effect that these had themselves encroached upon the Ostiaks, the Samoyeds, the Yeneseians, the half-annihilated Yukahiri, and the semi-independent Koriaks. The Khanats of Middle Asia broke up the tribes of Siberia. The Empire of the Czar has extended over the fragments of what was left unconquered by the Khanats and over all but a few fractions of the Khanats themselves. In some quarters this was easily done. Conquests like those over the Laps and Samoyeds were as inglorious as they were easy. The real difficulties lay in the country and the climate. Over enemies like the Permians and Votiaks it was somewhat harder to achieve permanent or decisive victories. In neither case, however, nor in any similar ones, was it a nation which had influenced the history of the world at large that was reduced.

With the three last-named families it was different. Members of the Tungús stock had more than once overrun China and, at the present moment, the representative of the Mantshu dynasty is as truly a semi-civilized Tungús as the Sultan of the Osmanlis is a semi-civilized Tartar. The Mongols had not coerced China only, but had overrun the western half of Asia and the eastern half of Europe. It is a long way from the Yellow River to the Oder; yet the Mongols under Batum had intruded themselves as far as Silesia before they were either driven back or checked. Against the compact feudalism and the organized valour of the German Empire their barbaric swiftness and desert-born hardiness were

unavailing; though they had prevailed over all that either Poland or Russia could offer in resistance. Even now it is the soldier tribes of Mongolia that stand between China and Russia; and it is by a traditional descendant of a Mongol that India, within the memory of man, believed itself to be governed. As for the Turks, they have sent conquerors, more or less permanent, into every country between the Amur and the Seine, between the Arctic Ocean and the Tropic of Cancer; though to realize such a statement as this we must remember that, whilst the southernmost troops of the Pacha of Egypt are quartered on the frontier of Abyssinia, the Yakuts hunt sables on the Lena; and that whilst Timur and Mahomet of Ghuzni with their conquests in the East, were of Turk blood, Attila on the field of Chalons was the same. Even the Fins have sent forth conquerors; for what is a Magyar of Hungary but a near congener of the Ostiak and Vogul? Yet the Magyar conquest of Pannonia is one of the most remarkable instances of a distant population cutting its way through an impracticable country to a strange and well-defended land and establishing there—not an ephemeral settlement which was soon obliterated by the absorbing preponderance of the older occupant, but a powerful kingdom and a nationality so permanent as to be still both vital and active.

It is not, then, from any inherent or decided inferiority on the part of its opponents that Russia has developed itself; and no illustration would be more inaccurate than one which compared the exploration and conquest of Siberia by Yermak and his followers with the reduction of the American Indians by Spain or even with the enterprises of the Anglo-Americans on the Continent. There was, of course, *some* difference between the Russians and the most formidable of their enemies; but it was in no case the difference between a Spaniard under Cortez and an Indian under Montezuma. Nor yet was it the difference between an Englishman of the time of Elizabeth and a Virginian under Pocahontas. The Russian line of encroachments and conquests was essentially continuous. It began in being European and ended in being Asiatic. From the Dnieper to the Amur it has extended itself; but, in no case, has there been any sudden transition from civilization to barbarism or from strength to weakness on the part of those who opposed its career. Ugrians,

Turks, and Mongols have given way to it; but, in other times and in sundry places, Ugrians, Turks, and Mongols have effected conquests over Russians.

It is not, then, over the essentially inferior varieties of the human species that Russia has effected her encroachments: since one or more of the families to which her subjects belong has, at the present moment, a respectable representative in the commonwealth of nations. Finland and Hungary stand for the Ugrians; China for the Mongols and Tungús; the Ottoman Empire for the Turks. The Russian conquests, like those of Rome, have been over nations whose civilization in kind, if not in degree, is akin to her own. This is not the case with Spain; and, in America and Australia at least, it is not the case with Great Britain.

Much has been written about the Slavonism of the Russians. In blood, however, it is only a few that are purely Slavonic. Much, too, has been written about the Mongol, or Asiatic, element in Russia. The influence, however, of the Mongol conquest, upon either the blood or the civilization of Russia, has yet to be determined. Gibbon, after enlarging on the miseries inflicted upon Eastern Europe by the inroads of Batu Khan, suggests that the sum total of them did less evil than the moral subjugation to which Russia, under the sceptre of his successors, had to submit herself for nearly two centuries. How this is to be ascertained is problematic; neither can we say in what particular way such Mongol influences as actually existed showed themselves. That they affected the physical conformation of any notable portion of the Muscovite population has never been proved; for it by no means follows, that, because in some respects the Russian physiognomy differs from that of the other Slavonians, it is to Mongol intermixture that the difference is to be attributed. In the way of language we find neither in the literary Russian nor in any of the provincial dialects more than a dozen Mongol words. In the way of laws, institutions, customs, and superstitions, it is just possible that more may be discovered than discoverers have hitherto been able to find. What, however, *has* been found is but little. The Danish invasions of England have left little enough of what is Danish behind them. Still they have left something; *e. g.* the numerous local names in-*by*, so common

in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Yorkshire. But the Mongol conquests have left less than this—little as it is.

And it should also be remembered that even the little which this conquest introduced need not be purely Mongol; but, on the contrary, Turk or even Ugrian. For it cannot be too often repeated that, although the conquerors of China may have been directly and exclusively from Mongolia, it by no means follows that the hordes which overran the West were in the same category. They took up, on the road to Europe, Turks, Fins, and probably Circassians. Of all these the most important were the Turks; but even of Turk influence upon the Russians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (except in certain, specially Turk districts) I find but little. Of Buddhism or Mahometanism introduced by the conquerors, I find no traces. Still less is there, in any true Russian district, any trace whatever of a Mongol nationality.

Though founded upon the break-up of the great Kiptshak Empire, an empire which was raised by the immediate successors of Tshingiz, the four Khanats of Siberia, Kazan, Astrakan, and the Crimea were far more Turk than Mongol. They were not purely Turk; because the indigenous element, which was Ugrian and Circassian, entered largely into their composition; but they were more Turk than Mongol; and that within a century after the death of Tshingiz. So far as they are neither Russian nor Ugrian they are Turk at the present time; inasmuch as nine-tenths of those Mongols who occupy certain portions of them, are not the remains of the Temudzhinian hordes, but simply colonists and settlers whose introduction is comparatively recent.

The local habitation of the earliest ancestors of such conquests as the ones under notice, along with the date, the rate, the direction, and other details of their encroachments, claims our best attention. So does the question concerning the elements in the way of blood, descent, and ethnological affinities of their national constitution. I cannot say how far the doctrines which I am about to submit to the reader differ from those of the best recent investigators. I am only afraid that they run counter to many received opinions.

The first important fact in Russian history has a wonderful similarity to the last. It took place in 865, and was an attempt to take Constantinople. It was made by the ancestors of the

Little, rather than the Great, Russians; by the pure-blooded tribes of the Dnieper rather than the mixed populations of the Neva, or the Volga; by the men of Kiev rather than by those of Moscow or even Novogorod.

Kiev must be looked upon as their starting-point; a purely Russian city, representing the energy, industry, wealth, and civilization of the parts around it. It commanded the middle course of the Dnieper; and was a town more essentially Greek than any one north of Constantinople.

The Emperor Michael was at the head of an army against the Saracens; and the defence of the capital was in the hands of his admiral. In a fleet of 200 vessels, of small size, adapted to coasting and the navigation of rivers, the Russians passed the Dardanelles and anchored at the mouth of the Buyuk Tshekmadje about eighteen miles from Constantinople. They plundered, pillaged, and murdered. The Emperor, however, hastened to the help of his admiral; and the repulse of the barbarians was effected under their joint efforts: a share in it being given to the Virgin.

Between this, the first recorded war between the Russians of Kiev and the Greeks of Constantinople, and the second there is a long interval. There was intercourse; but it was of a peaceful kind. The first commercial treaty between the two nations was concluded in the reign of Basil the First In 902, seven hundred Russians are serving in the Byzantian fleet on high pay; and in 912, an attack under Oleg leads to a commercial treaty, of which the details are given by the father of Slavonic literature. It should be added, however, that, both for the treaty and the war, he is our only authority. The Byzantine historians either knew nothing of them or passed them over in silence. It is 941 before the undoubted attack of Igor upon Constantinople takes place. Hence, the record of the interval between that year and A.D. 865 is, so far as it is unexceptionable, a record of amicable rather than hostile relations.

I can neither confirm nor refute the opinion that this quiescence on the part of the Dnieper pirates is referable to an arrest of their power effected by the appearance of the Petshenegs and the Magyars on the lower part of the river. This may or may not have been the case. It is only certain that three names now

take prominence for the parts between the Dnieper and the Danube, that these are the three in question, and that to these three we may add those of the Uzes and the Comanians.

Igor's attack was unsuccessful: though made when the Byzantine fleet was in the Archipelago. It was made upon three different points; the coast of Thrace, the coast of Bithynia, and the harbour of Constantinople itself. Two active generals on land, and the Greek fire on the water, repulsed them; so that it was only with a few boats that Igor made his escape. A year or two afterwards (so at least runs the Russian account) he re-organized his forces and threatened the empire with plenary vengeance for the previous disgrace; the Petshenegs being in alliance with him. Terror at his preparations fell upon Kherson; and the alarmed inhabitants persuaded the Emperor Romanus to meet the Russian hero at the mouth of the Danube and, if peace could be made, to make it. That a treaty was made between the Emperor of Constantinople and the Prince is a fact which stands upon the evidence of the document itself; of which a copy is preserved in the text of Nestor.

Igor is murdered. Olga is his widow, and Swiatoslaf his son. The widow, who is also regent, visits Constantinople, receives baptism, and plants Christianity steadily and permanently in her son's dominions. It had been adopted partially and sporadically by such individuals as had most especially come in contact with Constantinopolitan civilization before. It was only, however, in the reign of Swiatoslaf that it became the state religion. "A monk," writes Finlay, "has preserved the commercial treaties of the empire, an emperor records the pageantry that amused a Russian princess. The high position occupied by the court of Kief in the tenth century is also attested by the style with which it was addressed by the court of Constantinople. The golden bulls of the Roman Emperor of the East, addressed to the Prince of Russia, were ornamented with a pendant seal equal in size to a double solidus like those addressed to the Kings of France."

And now, for a time, the history of Russia is fused into that of Bulgaria.

Swiatoslaf succeeded in overrunning Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, however, he was afterwards defeated by the Emperor Zimisces. It

was a defeat on the strength of which the conqueror was either sufficiently prudent or sufficiently generous to exact but moderate concessions. The evacuation of Dorostolon, the siege of which had lasted more than two months, was enforced. The plunder, prisoners, and slaves were given up. Perpetual friendship with the Empire was sworn to; and special engagements made that the reconquest of neither Kherson nor Bulgaria should be attempted. On the other hand, the navigation of the Danube should be free, and the old commercial treaties were to be renewed. A personal interview between Zimisces and Swiatoslaf followed; and we are told not only how the two kings comported themselves but what they were in personal appearance. Swiatoslaf arrived by water, in a boat, which he steered himself with an oar. His dress was white. He was "of middle stature, well formed, with strong neck and broad chest. His eyes were blue, his eyebrows thick, his nose flat, and his beard shaved, but his upper lip was shaded with long and thick moustaches. The hair of his head was cropped close, except two long locks which hung down on each side of his face, and were thus worn as a mark of his Scandinavian race. In his ears he wore golden earrings, ornamented with a ruby between two pearls, and his expression was stern and fierce." After leaving Dorostolon he was obliged to winter on the coast, in the parts between the Danube and the Dnieper, and, consequently, in the ports on the frontier of the Petshenegs. How capricious these Tartars showed themselves, we have seen. We have seen them in alliance with Rome, and in enmity to Russia; in alliance with Russia, and in enmity to Rome. We have seen the recall of Swiatoslaf from Bulgaria arising out of their attack on his capital in his absence. We have then seen them unite their forces with his in attempt at a second conquest. And now his army, weakened by defeat, diminished by famine, dispirited by delay, must either force or beg its way through that territory. On the banks of the Dnieper it is attacked and defeated, and Swiatoslaf, himself, is killed. Kour, the chief of the Petshenegs, makes a cup of his skull, with the inscription, "He who covets the lands of another, often loses his own."

The Emperor sends a noble to negotiate with the Prince of Kiev and to excite him to invade Bulgaria. The negotiator

becomes a traitor and himself assumes the purple. As *his* ally, then, rather than as an ally of the Emperor, the Russian army defeats the Bulgarian. Meanwhile, civil dissension prevails, and the next king, Peter, dies soon after the great battle in which he saw the strength of his land destroyed. His capital surrenders to the conqueror, and, after the capital, the land at large. Yet all is not lost. The Emperor, Nicephorus II., prepares to relieve the Bulgarians, and the Petshenegs effect a diversion by attacking Kiev. This compels Swiatoslaf to withdraw his army from Bulgaria; and, when this has been done, Boris, one of the sons of Peter, is placed, through the assistance of the Emperor, on the throne. But not to hold it. The Petshenegs ally themselves with the Russians and the Magyars join the alliance. Swiatoslaf conquers Bulgaria a second time, ravages Thrace, and threatens Constantinople. How he was overthrown is written in the history of the acts of John Zimisces, a soldier, in energy and skill, equal to the best of the empire. Boris, whose relations seem to have been determined by his submission to Swiatoslaf rather than by his alliance to Nicephorus, is taken prisoner in his capital—he and his family. And with him ends the first Bulgarian empire; overthrown by the Russians, overthrown from Constantinople, destined to revive.

As far as this notice goes, it is clear and explicit; and, though short, is satisfactory. For such a district as the parts about Kiev, and in such an age as the ninth century, no one expects very definite geography. As far, however, as the preceding notices go, they give us just the sketch we expect. Of the kingdom of Bulgaria we already know something. We also know that in Valachia and Moldavia there is a great Turk Kanat, either Khazar, or Petsheneg, or a mixture of the two. In Hungary such Avars as were left after the conquest of Charlemagne are ineffectually struggling against the Germans of the empire and the Slavonians of their frontier. All these are within the political kingdom of Constantinople; and we have notices of them which are clear or obscure according to the circumstances under which they are taken. But the parts beyond the Carpathians are only in the dimmest distance. At length, however, we get a view, and it is just the one we expect.

Assuredly, if the preceding account stood alone, our view of the

early development of the Russian empire would be simple. We should assign to the earliest conquerors, as a point to start from, a district of adequate magnitude in the parts about Kiev without pretending to be over-accurate in respect to its boundaries. We should see, from the present configuration of the Russian area, in which direction the stream of population had spread. For the Governments of Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and Don Kosaks we should find our ethnology in a long series of trustworthy notices from Herodotus downwards, and without much hesitation pronounce that in these parts, at least, it was a mixture of Turks, Mongols, and other older elements, at the expense of which the Russians of Kiev had extended their frontier. In the direction of the north, our inferences would be somewhat more indirect. In Minsk, for instance, in Mohilev and in Volhynia, we might be unable to say how far the older population was or was not Lithuanic, Polish, or Fin. In Yaroslav and Kostroma, however, a minimum amount of assumption could satisfy us as to the fact of its having been Fin; inasmuch as, at the present time, those Governments are so to a slight, and within the historical period were so to a considerable, extent. The same applies to Nizhni Novogorod, Tambov, and Penza.

With these four populations as our factors in the question, our researches upon that underlying stratum upon which the present layer of Russian Slavonism rests, would then be limited to the details of the parts between Kiev and Vladimir; and in pronouncing these to have been essentially Ugrian, we should only do what has been done before, and, to a great extent, been confirmed by the general opinion of competent judges. To the exact details of the frontier Governments of Pultava, Tshernigov, Smolensk, and Kharkov few inquirers would commit themselves; but that the indigenous population of the more central, northern, and eastern Governments, Kursk, Tula, Kaluga, Riazan, Moscow, and Vladimir, was Fin is doubted by few who have investigated the facts. Upon this point there is nearly as much unanimity as there is upon the Keltic character of the Ancient Britons. How far, however, the blood of the present English is Keltic is another question; and, in like manner, the question as to how far the Russian blood is Ugrian is doubtful. It is one thing for two populations to come in contact. It is another thing for them to intermix.

This, however, is not the point under consideration; the point to which attention is now drawn being the early notices of the Russians of Kiev. If they stood alone, they would be sufficiently straightforward, simple, and satisfactory.

But it is well known that, so far from standing by themselves, and of being capable of being taken purely and simply, they are traversed by more than one important notice suggesting the paradox that whatever may have been the case with the common people, the early heroes of Russia, the true bearers of the Russian name, were in the modern sense of the term no Russians at all—no Russians at all, but Swedes.

Nor is this a mere Swedish doctrine. It is, probably, the prevalent opinion in Germany; and it is one which the Russian historians are, as a body, inclined to admit. Some, indeed, insist strongly upon it; indeed, all that the present writer does, is to take exceptions to it. That the absolute denial of a strong Swedish element in the early history of the Russians is attended with great difficulties will be seen.

In the Russians of Kiev we have the southern aspect of Russia. But Kiev and the Dnieper are not the only cities and rivers of primitive Russia. Eight degrees further north, on the drainage of the Volga, and on the parts about Lake Ilmen there is another Slavonic occupancy; and that, an old one. When Moscow was a Ugrian village, Kiev and Novogorod were famous cities; both Slavonic, both Russian, both ancient. We may call them the two poles of the early Russian world.

Now Novogorod is not only connected in its early history with Kiev but with Sweden also. That this double connection was real is likely enough. That Swedes and Danes of the far south may have met, on the shores of Lake Ilmen, the Slavonians of the far north is also likely. It is likely too, that they may have quarrelled, the result being that the weaker took a chief from the stronger; likely too, that in friendly union they may have joined in wars against the native Fins. A Swede king, then, in Novogorod is no improbability.

As far as such a king represented his people he would represent Novogorod; and as far as Novogorod represented Russia, it would represent the Russian nationality. Hence when Rurik, prince of Novogorod, is spoken of as the founder of the Russian empire,

and at the same time, as a Swede, the inference that the true Russians were Swedish is not a very distant one. Still, this need not much affect the Russians of Kiev; who may be left with all the honours or dishonours of Slavonism as opposed to Scandinavianism, without respect to the blood or pedigree of Rurik of Novogorod.

But this is not the complication. The real complication lies in the fact, that, independently of Novogorod, there is evidence for what is considered a connection between the Russians of Kiev and the Swedes—evidence which may be reduced to two heads.

1. The account of the embassy of A.D. 838.
2. The names of the cataracts of the Dnieper.

1. In A.D. 838, a deputation appears at Constantinople, has an interview with the Emperor Theophilus, and is ready to depart. The way it had come was by land across a country which we easily believe was unpleasant if not dangerous. Unwilling then to return by the same way, they obtain leave of the Emperor to accompany an embassy of his own to Germany, whence they may have been forwarded to their own country. The Emperor of Germany, however, imprisons them as pirates, for *he knew that they were Swedes*. To this it may be added, as strengthening the case, that their king was named *Chacanus*, a likely form for either *Hakon* or *Khagan*. They said of themselves that they were *Russ*.

After this Constantinople is attacked by sea, but the Corsairs are defeated by the means of the famous Greek fire. The father-in-law of Liutprand saw the battle, and the son-in-law, Liutprand himself, gives an account of it; stating therein that the Greeks called them *Russi* from the quality of their bodies, but that he called them *Northmen* because it was from the North that they came.

2. In an account of the cataracts of the Dnieper we have the name for each of them in two languages, the Slavonic and the Russ; and three, at least, of the Russ names are sufficiently significant in German to satisfy even a fastidious etymologist.

These are strong facts to oppose. Still the great *à priori* improbabilities must be borne in mind. The journey from Sweden is a long one. It was one, too, which the travellers did not care

to repeat. The fleet that was burnt by the Greek fire consisted of more than a thousand ships; an impossible number to bring across half Europe by land, and not a likely one to have been built between the time of the embassy and the sea-fight on either the Black Sea or one of its affluents. For it must be remembered that it was from Sweden itself, and from no intermediate point, that the first ambassadors are supposed to have come.

Nor are we justified in supposing that they came all the way round by sea. An Arabian account of a concurrent act of piracy on the Caspian forbids this; an act which is explicable if we suppose dockyards on the Volga as well as the Dnieper, but absolutely impossible to a fleet that sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar. Yet the attack on Constantinople is highly improbable to one which did not.

To get, then, acts of piracy like these we must have a nation of some standing in some district which commanded both the Volga and the Dnieper. But if this were the case with the Russ, how came their ambassadors from Sweden? I do not say that this difficulty is insuperable. The fleet might have been got up in the interval, or the embassy and the sea-fight might have belonged to different divisions of the same people, or they may have been alliances with the adjacent natives who found ships. All this, and much more, is possible. I submit, however, that the amount of assumption required to explain the previous objections away is a grave one.

Again; the ambassadors are made to call themselves Russ. The Swedes are so called by the Estonians; but there is no evidence to their ever having called themselves so.

Still, as the evidence is decided there is a conflict of difficulties. Let us guard, however, against over-valuing the evidence.

*a*. The statement that the Emperor pronounced them Swedes is from the *Annales Bertinenses;* not a cotemporary work.

*b*. The name Norman might have been given by Luitprand's father-in-law to any pirate from any point north of the place in which he applied the term.

*c*. The names of the waterfalls are not necessarily Swedish, as will be seen from the following hypothesis.

I incline to the belief that the invasions were from that part

of Russia which lay between the lower Dnieper and the Volga; this being a condition required for the two descents, the one on the Euxine and the one on the Caspian.

Some part of the district I refer to the country of the *Roxolani* of Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, and other authors; this giving the name *Russ*. Whether they were Slavonians *at the time of those authors* is another question. They were, probably, either Turks or Ugrians, or Circassians, or some mixture of either the three, or any two of them.

In time, however, the ancestors of those Slaves who first bore the name of Russians settled in their land; being Russians just as their cotemporary Anglo-Saxons were Britons.

But, before them, I assume a German settlement, viz. the one which developed itself into the Empire of Hermanric; remembering that that king was killed by a chief of the old Roxolani and that the Dniester was so German as to be called the *Vallis Grutingorum*. These Germans, then, by hypothesis, give the names of the cataracts; their language being called *Russ*, as the English might, by a foreigner, be called *British*.

A powerful Swedish kingdom, with ships on the Dnieper for an attack on Byzantium, and ships on the Volga for piracy on the Caspian, developing itself between the embassy and the sea-fight of Constantinople is incredible on the evidence before us; good as it would be for an event of only moderate improbability. But the magnitude of the one here under criticism is, in the mind of the present writer, immoderate. It is this which throws him on the conflict of difficulties; for that it is difficult to explain away the Scandinavian character of, at least, one of the names of the Dnieper cataracts is certain. Whatever the others may be, one is more Norse than anything else. It may be Teutonic as well; but this is the most that can be said. It is the name of the second cataract. The passage about what may be called the Russo German Glosses has done so much hard service in Russian ethnology that it must be quoted as sparingly as possible. However, "The fifth fall," writes Porphyrogeneta, "is called in Russian (Ῥῶσιστι) Barouphoros, but in Slavonian (Σκαβινιστι) Boulneprag, because it ends a large lake." As truly as *prag* or *porog* are the common every-day Slavonic words for *waterfall*, so truly is *förs* (in provincial English *force*) the Swedish for it. Yet

the language in which it has this meaning is here called *Russian*. The difficulty, like all connected with internal rather than external evidence, is a serious one. Still, as aforesaid, it is probably the lesser of two. At any rate, much is required to make us believe that among the true Russians of the original home of the conquerors of Russia, among the followers of Oleg and Swiatoslaf, among the men of Kiev and the Dnieper, there was any Scandinavian element.

Yet there seems to have been a German one. Glosses on a matter that could never have been invented give to certain parts of the Dnieper names in which the language is Russian, in which the interpretation is German. The Germans of Hermanric's Empire are the suggested explanations of this.

If so, even the Slavonians of Kiev begin as a nation of mixed blood. They are (in part at least) Rhoxolanian; which may be almost anything. They are (in part at least) German, after the fashion of the Goths and Vandals under Hermanric. They are Slavonic, as Slavonians who have intruded into both Roxolania and Gothland. They begin, however, as Slavonians; just as the Englishmen of the Heptarchy, notwithstanding the Keltic character of the Britons, into whose land they had intruded, are English.

There is doubt on all sides. That the names, however, cited by Porphyrogeneta of the cataracts of the Dnieper were, at one and the same time, (1.) vernacular to the locality; (2.) Russian in respect to the *name* of the language in which they were significant; (3.) and Scandinavian in the respect to the language itself, is an improbability far beyond the evidence that meets it. With this criticism upon its real or supposed Swedish element, I take leave of the analytical part of the history of the Russians of the original Russia; not without anticipating the objection that criticism of the kind in question settling nothing, but merely suggesting much, is blameworthy. I submit that it is pure epicureanism in ethnology to take such an exception. Let the result be what it may, the following problem still calls for a solution. How is it that an author, who could never have invented the word, specially states that in his time the name, in *Russian as opposed to Slavonic*, for a fall in the Dnieper was a word so like the name of the most famous waterfall in Scandi-

navia as *Barouphorus* (pronounced *Varúforos*) is to *Vörenförs?* If the fact of its being Swedish be the explanation; then comes the question—How came the Russian Swedes from such a district to have come a long journey overland, and to return to it by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Sound, whilst a few years afterwards there was one Russian fleet on the Caspian, and another on the Black Sea?

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Kosaks.—Their War with Poland.—Pugatshef's Rebellion.

FROM the earliest period in the history of the original Slavonians of Kiev, we will, without enquiring how they came to be called Russians, pass to the history of their descendants in the twentieth generation, *i. e.* in the sixteenth century, giving three generations to the century. This gives us the Russians of the Ukraine; Malorussians, or Little Russians. With Great or Moscovite Russia they have but a secondary connection. They are politically Poles, or Turks, according to the frontier: ethnologically Poles, Komanians, Crim Tartars, Valachians, Moldavians, Bukovinians, Galicians, Yaczwings, and Lithuanians. True Christians of the Latin Church some may be; some the same of the Greek Church; some are suspiciously Mahometan; some, in many respects, Pagan; some with a dash of the Jew. Upon the whole, however, they are Malorussian Slaves.

*Ukrain* means a march or frontier, and is a Slavonic, *Kosak*, a mounted warrior, and is a Turk, word.

There are now numerous hordes of Kosaks in different parts of the Russian Empire; but the mother-country of them all is the Ukraine; the greatest of the secondary branches are the Don Kosaks.

An example from the history of each shall be given.

Among the Ukraine Kosaks there were few countries of eastern Europe which had not some representatives. And their religion was as heterogeneous as their blood. Dissident Poles; members of the Greek Church; Anabaptists; Mahometans had come amongst them; and elements from each of their creeds were taken up. Upon the whole, the Church ceremonies were more Greek than Roman. They had much, however, which, in the sight of both the Latin and the Greek Catholic, was schismatic.

They were robbers, of course. They were fickle in their alliances, and had as little scruple in fraternizing with a Tartar as a Slave; but they were hardy, brave, and enterprising; skilful in the management of such light craft as might carry them down the Dnieper, and quick in their movements on land. As several large domains in their country had been granted to both Polish and Lithuanian nobles, their agricultural industry was considerable; and, as long as the estates were sufficiently well managed to prevent agrarian discontent, they comported themselves peaceably. They acknowledged the Republic, and held that it was for the Republic that they kept watch and ward. Of similar duties on behalf of Russia there is, I believe, no evidence until a comparatively late period. They were, then, essentially Polish in their political relations. The grants of land were made by Poland; and the homage, such as it was, that they paid to any superior at all, was paid to Poland also. It was at the hands of a Polish king that, after the time of Stephen Bathory, the Grand Hetman received his investiture. The symbols were an ensign, a horsetail, a bâton, and a looking-glass. This, however, is an anticipation. It was in the reign of Sigismund I. that they were first organized as a body of military marchmen by Ostafi Daskiewitsh, a peasant on the estate of a Lithuanian nobleman. The king made him starost of Tsherkas; the third district to which the disturbances of the year under notice were communicated. He added the government of certain forts. The advice of Ostafi was to convert the whole line into a true military frontier, to maintain ten thousand fighting men, and to build forts on the more important islands of the Dnieper. By Sigismund this advice was taken rather than acted on. In 1582, however, Stephen Bathory effected an organization. He formed the Kosaks into six regiments, with a hetman at the head of each, and a Grand Hetman, the ceremonies of whose investiture have been alluded to, as the superior of the whole. He also made over to them a metropolis and magazine—the city of Trykhtymirov.

From men thus organized, and men conscious of their own courage, reasonable suzerains might expect faithful service, so long as their just claims were respected.

They might, perhaps, want humouring; but this, with a sagacious Government, is easily managed. It is a piece of management, however, which Governments too often overlook. No one is

prepared to say that every demand made by every Kosak should have been granted. Anyone may be assured that for the horrors of the insurrection which is now coming under notice much of the blame lies at the door of the Poles.

In the reign of Sigismund III., the complaints of the Kosaks reached the ear of that king, who had the will rather than the power to correct the abuses which had led to them. The landowners of the Kosak country were, one and all, absentees; and the management of their estates was entrusted to men who sought only to enrich themselves. The habit of advancing money in anticipation of the crop had become common, and the steward and the Jew were equally hateful in the eyes of the soldier peasants, who were ground down by usury. Sigismund would have helped them; but the Diet was constituted by those very nobles whose stewards were incensing the Kosaks. These had resort to arms. They destroyed the fortress of Kudak, but they were finally coerced by Potocki. The violent and foolish enactments of the Diet of 1638 followed. They were degraded to the rank of serfs; further degradation being threatened in case they created disturbance. Armed to a man, they held their ground against further injustice. They obtained a promise that their privileges should be restored. It was broken, and the Kosaks violated the frontier. I am always afraid of Polish numbers: I find it, however, written, that from the estate of one noble alone thirty thousand peasants were carried away and sold as slaves to the Tartars.

There was a Kosak named Bogdan, a Moldavian name. He was a tried warrior, and had won distinction, some twenty years before, in the defence of Zolkiew against the Tartars. He had a windmill, which the steward of Alexander Koniecpolski coveted. So he accused Bogdan of some fictitious or exaggerated offence, got him tried before his own master, and thrown into prison. The castellan of Cracow befriended him, obtained his freedom, and kept for him his mill. But he died and left Bogdan unprotected; who appealed to the Diet. And the Diet neglected him. He betook himself to the Tartars, and the unjust steward took his mill, burnt his house, violated his wife, destroyed his infant son, flogged another who was grown up to man's estate publicly. The rebellion had taken form. At the head of an army of Kosaks

and Tartars, Bogdan defeated two armies from the Republic. This was in 1648, when Vladislas VII. died. John Casimir succeeded him: but there was an interregnum between them. Of this Bogdan knew how to make the most. The whole of the Ukraine was in the hands of the insurgents. They swept over Volhynia and Podolia. Lemburg opened its gate, as did all the other towns of Lodomiria except Zamosc. The king immediately on his accession put himself in communication with Bogdan, who pressed the royal letter to his lips, and countermanded the assault which was about to be made on that town. Meanwhile, Jeremy Wisnowiecki, infamous for this act, and more infamous for his bigotries and barbarities elsewhere, attacked the camp, and, after a massacre of the surprised Kosaks, forced Bogdan to raise the siege; who retreated, full of resentment and distrust. He may have been willing to believe the king, but the king could scarcely be held responsible for his promises. The fury on each side was ungovernable. Islaf, the Tartar, was Bogdan's ally; but when a Polish army, with Jeremy at its head, was at the mercy of the Kosaks, he withdrew his troops. Under the pressure of their danger the Poles had demeaned themselves to the offer of a bribe. Let Islaf desert his ally and an annual payment, which, in days of the Tartar strength had been paid by Poland, but which was now obsolete, should be restored. On certain definite conditions Bogdan withdrew. But these conditions were repudiated by the nobles; and war was kindled anew. There were two battles; the first was won by the Poles, the second by the Kosaks, who now besieged Kaminiec. The loss of his son, killed in some unrecorded engagement, added fuel to the fiery wrath of Bogdan. He had learned to distrust the Tartars. The Turks, busied upon the Candian war, were unable to help him. He applied to the Czar Alexis, and offered to become his vassal in return for effective assistance. After some hesitation, it was given; and Lithuania was overrun by the Russians, the parts on the Moldavian frontier by the Kosaks. Trouble, from another quarter, now fell upon Poland, and the absolute independence of the Kosaks of the Ukraine was established, Bogdan being their Hetman.

He died in 1667, and his son George Chinieloriski succeeded him—not, however, over the whole Ukraine. A rival chief, Wyhovski, divided it with him; the one holding the Polish, the

other the Russian, side of the Dnieper. To secure their domain, Chinieloriski did homage to the Czar. To secure his dominion Wyhovski did homage to the Republic. A war followed, with which each of the protecting Powers mixed themselves up.

It was against these Kosaks, in a subsequent war, and when Russia was stronger, that Sobieski was sent; and it was Sobieski whom, under their Hetman Dorescensko, they bravely resisted; bravely but ineffectually. Neither could they defend themselves through the assistance of the Tartars of their frontier. So that it was to the Porte direct that they applied. Their hetman, who presented himself in person at Constantinople, was nominated Bey of the Ukraine; and the Ukraine was enrolled as a Turkish province. The Khan of the Crimea was ordered to protect it, and six thousand Turkish troops were marched into the district. Against these high-handed proceedings the Poles protested strongly: and not only the Poles but the Czar as well. An Ottoman protectorate of any portion of the Kosak district was a contingency against which either Power had an equal interest in protecting itself. The contempt with which the Porte treated their joint remonstrance along with the high language in which it is couched astonishes the reader of the present time.—"Such is Islam that the union of the Russians and the Poles matters not to us. Our empire has increased since its origin; nor have all the Christian kings who have ranged against us been able to pluck one hair from our beard. With God's grace it shall ever be so and our empire shall continue till the day of judgment." Kiuprili, by no means one of the most boastful of the viziers, but, on the contrary, a cool and cautious calculator, used similar language.—"If a free people places itself under our protection it shall be protected, and the sword, by which Islam has triumphed for more than a thousand years, shall decide between us and our opponents."

The first brunt of the war fell upon Podolia, and the first acts of the Grand Vizier justified his arrogant language. The important fortress of Kaminiec fell after a nine-days' siege. A fortnight after Lemburg did the same. Peace was made. Podolia was ceded. An annual tribute was imposed upon Poland. The King of Poland, Michael Koribut, made the treaty. The nobles reserved their acceptance of it: in other words they determined to

violate it. And they were in a position to do so. They had the assurance of assistance from Russia; and they had amongst their nobles their future king and the greatest soldier of their nation, John Sobieski. The Hospodars, too, of Wallachia and Moldavia were prepared to desert to them. Under these conditions, so unpromising for Turkey, the campaign of 1673 began; and it began, like the one which preceded, in Podolia and the Eastern half of Galicia. By 1676 it was concluded, leaving the Kosaks more under the suzerainty of Turkey than of Poland.

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Now follows the episode in the history of the Don Kosaks. Of personators Russia has had its full share; *personator* meaning an individual who passes himself off for some one who he is not; like the false Philips in Macedonia, or the Perkin Warbecks in England. There had been a false Demetrius. We have now a false Peter—Peter III., who was murdered, but the reality of whose death many were willing to doubt. A Don Kosak, named Jeremy Pugatshef, had the misfortune to be persuaded that he was sufficiently like the murdered Czar to be mistaken for him; at least by those who had never or rarely seen him. Similar deceptions had been attempted; for there was, on the part of many of the nobles and ecclesiastics, a wish to be deceived. As many as four Russians and a man from Montenegro had made the same attempt. Pugatshef's, however, was destined to become formidable—formidable with an approach to success.

Pugatshef himself was a Don Kosak, and as such a soldier. He had seen service at the siege of Bender, where he became an officer. He then passed some time in south-eastern Russia, on the Polish frontier, and in Poland, where he came in frequent contact with the monks and ecclesiastics who tempted him to make political capital out of his real or supposed likeness.

It was at Malinkovoka, on the Volga, that Pugatshef first gave out that he was Peter III.—a notification which was at first treated with comparative indifference. After a time, however, he was seized and conveyed to Kazan. From Kazan he contrived to escape; and betook himself to the Kosak districts on the lower Volga, and to the Bashkir hordes on the Jaik. It was the Bashkirs who most especially committed themselves to his support;

and it was through the well-known courage, and the military aptitudes of the Bashkirs, that he most especially became terrible. Indeed, for all the purposes of warfare the Bashkirs were Kosaks; Kosaks in habits, Kosaks in respect to their organization. This they are now: this they were when Pugatshef reached the Jaik; which was in 1741, when they first became organized. Instead of paying tribute as before, they served as soldiers; sending an annual relay of fifteen hundred to act with the Kosaks of the Jaik. Besides the Bashkirs and the Kosaks many of the Kirghiz flocked to his standard; for it was on the very frontier of what is called Independent Tartary that he had taken his stand.

At the town of Jaizkoi he published a manifesto, in which he called upon all orthodox believers to acknowledge him as their Czar. He collected not only men but cannons. He failed, however, twice in an attempt to take the town of Orenburg.

To the serfs freedom, to the Kosaks plunder, was promised. The rebellion spread, and Tshernitshef and Carr, who had been sent to suppress it, were successively defeated. These were succeeded by Bibikov, who, slow and cautious, died before the revolt was quashed. His successors Galitzin and Michelson—the latter more especially—succeeded in quashing it. The pretender caused money to be coined in his name; and, as the disturbances in Poland were now at their height, many refugee Poles betook themselves to his standard—not that they mistook him for the Emperor or cared whether he were so or not. Then, and since, then as now, the best omen for the Pole is the war which shall most hurt his imperial enemy. By this time the attempt of Pugatshef promised the Poles a more than ordinary revenge.

The success, however, was generally in favour of Michelson; and, in the last of some six or seven engagements, Pugatshef was so completely defeated that he had to fly from a quick pursuer. However, he escaped; and, for some time, wandered with a few followers in the more impracticable districts of the Uralian range. However, as soon as he re-appeared an army was again collected; an army which was now to be opposed by a larger force under Panin; a force through which Pugatshef suffered another and a severer defeat on the Ufa. He again fled, and again re-appeared; and again on his re-appearance an army crowded round him. He marched upon Kazan, and took the town; but being unable to

storm the fortress, he delayed until Michelson came-up and drove him beyond the Volga.

The German settlements of Saratov were now exposed to the cruelty and greediness of Pugatshef. Here, however, his career was to end. Compelled to raise the siege of Zaritzin, he fled, was overtaken, got separated from his followers, who were ruthlessly cut down. Accompanied by a few followers he swam across the Volga and found himself in a desert. It was through treachery that, at last, he was taken. Some of his followers who had been taken prisoners, one of whom was his own familiar friend, were set free and sent across the Volga under the promise of betraying their former leader. After some weeks they succeeded in doing so.

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Again—the whole force of Russia was directed against the Khan of Krim Tartary; and from every Russian Government the troops under their respective commanders were moving to the Dnieper. Here they were to join those of the Hetman of the Kosaks, Ivan Samielovitsh. I find no charge of either disloyalty or treachery laid to his charge. But the Russian army was under an incompetent commander, and it was the month of June. The sun burnt hot; and, when the main body of the army reached the Dnieper, the whole of the country around was one dry, brown carpet. The waters, too, ran low and shallow. There was a want of provender, and the only resource lay in the wide meadows of the Ukraine. When the Russians reached them they were withered up. Before they had been there many days they were one sheet of fire—for ten leagues, for twenty leagues, for fifty. The Tartars had set-light to them.

A scape-goat was sought and found. The secretary of the Kosak hetman (we will call him for the present by the first three of his four names) was Jessaul Ivan Stevanovitsh. He found favour in the eyes of the Russian general, Galitzin, by a vile intrigue. The year before, Samielovitsh had concluded a peace with Poland; in which he was supposed to have studied Polish rather than Russian interests. He was now charged with being in league with the Tartars. He was willing to see them weakened, but loath that they should be annihilated. He was ready to sacrifice both Poland and Russia to them. His policy was to unite them with the Kosaks, and to make both independent. A

scape-goat was wanted, and a charge like this, coming, as it did, from his secretary, was sufficient. "We have borne," said the secretary, "with his arrogance; we have borne with his violence; but with his treachery we will bear no longer." A report was sent to Moscow, and from Moscow came an order that he should be deposed and sent for trial. To a trial he submitted; he and his son. They were condemned to exile in Siberia; but the old hetman died before he reached his jail.

There is nothing unusual in all this; nothing morally, nothing politically, instructive. Yet it is noticed because the contemptible secretary is one of the few Kosaks whose name is known to the general reader: known not unfavourably, and known at the expense of honester men. Voltaire gives the name. A poet and a painter have helped to immortalize his story. A halo of strange romance invests it. However, simply considered as a secretary and an adjutant, he was as false to Russia as he was to his Kosak captain. He was a Pole at heart. Yet he ended in misleading the great ally of the Polish party in Sweden. He was the hetman that was to have met Charles XII. with so many Kosaks and to have helped him to win at Pultava. He is the hero of a poem of Byron's, and of a painting of Horace Vernet's. His Christian names (so to say) were (as aforesaid) Yessaul Ivan Stevanovitsh; but his surname, or, at least, his name in romance, was Mazeppa. Fortunate enough to find a Pegasus in his horse, he has been luckier than he deserved in his immortality.

Such is the purely historic view of certain scenes in the history of the Kosaks, and it is to be hoped that many others equally bloody and ferocious with the first two are not to be found elsewhere. Of courage and endurance they show enough; but, if either of our two narratives be a fair sample of the ordinary Kosak deportment, no amount of sentiment can make us regret that the strong hand of arbitrary power has reduced the men whom they exhibit to the humble condition of peaceful agriculturalists. At best, it is to be feared, that their hand was against every man.

But that a heroic element, and, to some degree, a tender one was mixed up in their wild nature is shown in every line of their rich, natural, national, and characteristic poetry. Their temper, however, their spirit, and the institutions of their savage life have had

the misfortune to be seen through a haze of sentiment, and everything connected with them has been exaggerated.

So critical a writer as Voltaire has given a strange account of them in his Peter the Great; and, until lately, it is from Voltaire's work that the current opinions concerning them were taken. Within the present generation, however, not only have their songs found admirers and translators in Poland, but they have acted strongly upon the Polish poetry. The contrast between the warlike republic of the Kosak and its present peaceful prosaic repose, with the analogy between it and the present, as compared with the former, state of Poland itself, strikes home to the innermost heart of the Pole: all the more strongly from the old connection between the Poles and the Kosak Republic. Nor can it be denied that the connection exists. Whatever may be its value, some of the Kosaks were quite as much Tartars as Russians, and more Poles than Tartars. Nor has the Polish feeling, even on the Dnieper, quite died out. It may require a grievance to rouse it; but it exists, though not to be reckoned-on as a revolutionary element. Though not overlooked by the Russians, it is the Polish poets to whom the vivid poetry of the Kosaks owes most of its reputation. But the effect has been that the Kosak's life has been clad in colours not its own. Much coarseness has been invested with a nobility which never belonged to it; much rapacity has been excused, much cruelty uncondemned.

The real Kosak was as different from the Kosak of the later poetry concerning him as the real moss-trooper from the borders of Scotland, the borderer of the ballads, was different from the borderer of real life.

Under a pure and serene sky, writes a Kosak enthusiast, are spread out the boundless steppes of Ukraina, of which it was long ago said, "In this Ukraina the sky is extraordinarily tranquil, and bad weather is never seen nor heard of there." One who has been accustomed to see the gloomy forests, the dark sky, the sands and marshes of the north, cannot picture to himself the boundless fields waving with corn, the valleys strewed with the fresh down of blooming vegetation, the meadows where luxuriant grass conceals from the eye the waters of the river and the stream. Even the habitations of the people in Great Russia will fail to convey an idea of the cottages in Ukraina, which are built of curved trees covered with whitewashed clay, and have for floors the earth itself well beaten down, instead of a wooden pavement. The dirty peasant of Great Russia with his long tangled hair reminds you of the Tatar rule, and the villager of the north shows his pure Sclavonian blood in his clear blue eyes and light brown hair, a true son of the snow, friendly, kind, and hospitable; and how much do both these differ from those plastic countenances (figures de bas-relief) which you meet in Little Russia. In the thoughtful and serious countenance of the man, in his tall frame,

his half-shaven head, long moustaches, in his secretly-working soul, his gloomy look, abrupt speech, you will discover the ancient Russian mixed with the savage Asiatic. His dress at the same time bears marks of the Lithuanian and Polish rule of four centuries' duration. The Ukranian is slow, taciturn, difficult of speech, does not bow himself as does the native of Great Russia, does not promise much, but is shrewd and intelligent, and respects the word both given and received. Whilst the one lives entirely in the present, the other lives all in the past. Would you gain the friendship of the Ukranian, be not pressing, for he is suspicious; but rather take part in his Cossack-like existence, for he is proud of the events of past times. Remind him of these, let him see that you admire his ancestors, and his countenance will brighten, his vivacity will be called forth, his heart will beat stronger; then you may converse with him enough. You will be admitted into the sanctuary of his joys and sorrows, you will at length hear his song of the steppe, and be astonished at the cheerfulness of his disposition.

The Kosaks' community was republican. The following, taken at second-hand from the Swiss historian Müller, represents the Kosak citadel about the middle of the last century.

"The Sicza was a heap of houses and huts, surrounded by a wall of earth. There everything was in common. When a new year came, the ataman of the Zaporogues used to put to them these questions: 'My brave fellows, you must cast lots as to where each division is to fish. Perhaps you may like to choose a new ataman?' 'No,' replied they, 'thou art good; command one more year, and let us cast lots.' But if a different answer was given, the ataman took off his cap, placed upon it the ataman's staff, and bowed to the people, saying, 'Now, I am your brother, a private Cossack.' The people then met, feasted, elected a new ataman, led him into their assembly, and after the interrogation whether he accepted the office, they handed to him the staff, put earth on their heads, and saluted him their chief. A Cossack who should murder another was put alive into a grave; a coffin, with the corpse, was put upon him, and the grave was then filled up with earth."

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"Thou writest to us," so replied the Ataman (supreme chief) of the Cossacks to the Chan Girey of Crimea, "thou writest to us, Chan Girey, that if what we have seized beyond Perecop and elsewhere, we do not give back, thou wilt march at once with thy people, and invade our thirty-two *grodzisko*, and will grant us no peace either in the spring or the summer, or the autumn or the winter; but that thou wilt come thyself with a multitude of thy men in winter upon the ice, to destroy our *grodzisko*. Well, we acquaint thee that our unprofitable *grodziskos* are hemmed round by hedges, are bristly with thorns, and must be purchased at the price of heads; besides our stock of horses and cattle is scanty. It were pity therefore for thee to trouble thyself so far!"

The Kosaks were communists. At first no married man entered the Sicza. Afterwards the restriction was withdrawn. *Mutatis mutandis*, this was the case with the janissaries.

They were musical, and the badura, or rhapsodist, was held in honour by them.

"Oh! in our famed Ukraina there has been many a terrible moment, many a season of unhappiness; there have been plagues and broils of war; there were none to help the Ukrainians; none sent up prayers for them to God; the holy

God alone, he did not forget us; he assisted us to arrest the mighty armies, to drive back the enemy. The fierce tempests have passed away; they have sunk into stillness; none have been able to conquer us!—Not for one day, nor for two, did the Lachy (the Poles) plunder Ukraina. They did not grant a moment's respite; day and night their horses stood bridled; they trod the paths to our Hetman Nalevayko; and what does the brave hetman meditate and design? What is the fate he prepares for his companions? Only the holy God knows—the holy God who assists him with his might."

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"From beyond the mountain a cloud rises—it rises, it comes forth—it thunders towards Czechrym; it sends forth its lightning over Ukraina; it is the Poles who have thrice crossed three rivers."

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"Those are not clouds thundering with sacred thunder in the heavens; those are not saints being led into the presence of God. They are the Lachy, beating their drums and sounding their pipes and trumpets."

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"It awaits, it looks for whomsoever the gun shall not reach, whom the bullets shall not strike—he shall find the cross of an ash tree."

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"To faithful Christians peace; to the Lachy foes, the infernal banquet. For him who erects the cross, the cross awaits."

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"Then our hosts marched on four tracks; they marched on four tracks, and on the fifth field they vanquished the Lachy on all sides; they vanquished them on all the cross-ways. The Lachy begged for mercy, and did not obtain it. The Cossacks do not give quarter. The Lachy do not forego an invasion."

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"And our people too shall be unhappy, as the cuckoo has sung. She sang what she heard amongst the saints. What she has sung will surely happen. May God protect us! He knows the issue, as he knows what our hetman meditates, what he designs, our hetman, whom he will assist with his might. It is not for us to know it. It is our part to pray to God, to be resigned in his presence."

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"On! the Cossacks marched on four tracks—on four tracks and on a fifth field. But one track Samko followed. And the standard-bearer was accompanied by nearly three thousand men; all brave Zaporogues. They wheel their chargers; they brandish their swords—they beat their drums, pray to God, and sign themselves with the cross. But Samko! He wheels not his charger, he checks his steed, he reins him up with the bridle. He meditates; he thinks. May hell confound his meditations. Samko meditates; he thinks; he utters these words—'What and if the Lachy burn our Cossacks as though they were in hell? And if they make them a banquet of our Cossack bones? What if our Cossack heads be scattered on the steppe and washed too with our native blood, and strewed over with our broken swords? It shall perish like dust, this Cossack fame of ours, which thief-like has overrun the world, which stretched like the steppe and spread over the world with a sound like the roaring of the wind—it echoed through Turkey and through Tartary, and here it has caught the edge of the Lachy foes.

* * * * * * *

"'The raven will croak, flying over the steppe; the cuckoo will mourn in the grove; grey hawks will moan, swift eagles will droop, and all this for their brethren, for the dauntless Cossack companions! What! did the whirlwind bury them in sand? or did they sink into hell, those dark men? They are no more seen; they are neither on the steppe, nor on the Tatar plains, nor on the Turkish mountains, nor upon the black hills, nor on the fields of Lachy. The raven will mourn, will scream, will croak, and fly over the stranger's land. And then lo! bones lie strewn about, swords are flashing—bones crack, broken swords clash, and the black magpie looks grim and stalks over the plain. And the heads of the Cossacks? They are as though the bootmaker Semen had lost one of his twisted skins. And their long tresses? As though the devil had made wisps of straw—and all are grown stiff with clotted blood. Lo! verily they have earned fame enough.'"

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Something more historical than this second notice of the Kosaks, and more creditable than the first, now commands attention.

One great epoch in Russian history is almost exclusively Kosak; the division of the Kosaks to which it is pre-eminently, if not exclusively, due, being that of the Kosaks of the Don. They were bad subjects. They were, in many respects, no subjects at all. Roughly speaking, they agreed with the Kosaks of the Dnieper (the Zaporogs), in connecting themselves with the Tartars of the Krimea. But the Krimean Khanat was a wide one, and the alliances on the east were very different from those on the west. In the west, the points of contact were Moldavia, Bessarabia, Wallachia, Galicia, Poland; in the east, the Mordvin and Tsheremis countries, Circassia, Kazan, Astrakan, Caucasus, Siberia. That Siberia, under the Kiptshak, was Mongol has already been stated. It has also been already stated that it fell, at its break-up, into four Khanats; the most northern of which was that of Siberia. This, from the names which, at long intervals, crop-out among the details of its scanty history, seems to have been Mongol rather than Turk, and Fin rather than Mongol. Such, at least, appears to have been the case at first; though, at present, the remains of it are Turk rather than Mongol. Whether Mongol, however, or Turk, the Tartar power was intrusive; the aborigines being chiefly Ostiak and Vogul. One of the names of the early chieftains is *Veguli*, from which it is probable that the current name for the latter of these two populations is taken. Then, as Mongols, appear Tshingiz and Taibug—Nogay captains. However, it was in the north that the first great impression was made. We have seen how

the Russians cut their way up to Archangel and had had a port on the White Sea before they had a footing on the Euxine. From Novogorod, too, Permia, Vologda, and Viatka were conquered at a time when Astrakan and Kazan were independent.

Permia, however, we may look upon as the Russian outpost during the reign of Ivan III., who called himself the king of Yugoria. His son added the title of king of Obdorsk and the Khonda; his grandson that of king of Siberia. Of Siberia, Isker, about sixteen miles from the present town of Tobolsk, was the capital when Ivan the Terrible began to reign.

Permia was the outpost. The Kosaks of the Don were little better than Krim Tartars. There was a colony in Permia; a commercial colony with concessions and privileges. The leading men in it were the brothers Stroganov, Jacob and Gregory. There was a third, Simon; but it was not till after the death of his brothers that he became active. The brothers were on the Siberian frontier; backwoodsmen, so to say, on the Ostiak, Vogul, Turk, and Mongol confines. They were hard pressed by the frontagers. The Czar was at a distance. The small settlement was in danger. At this time five of the most notable of the Don Kosaks were under the ban of the Czar—Ivan Kolzo, Yakob Micaelovitsh, Mikita Pan, Matvei (Matthew) the Meshtsheriak, and Yermak Timofeyevitsh. The Stroganovs knew their worth, and invited them to earn pardon and honour by serving the Czar against the Khan of Siberia. They lent their services; and never were services greater.

The line they followed was a line of conquest; one that, even to this day, teems with recollections and legends of Yermak. They cut their way to the Irtish. The small Vogul confederacies were the first to give way. Then those of the Ostiaks.

The nucleus of the army of Siberia seems to have been these five men. A few were added from the Stroganov settlements; over which Simon, the younger brother, the two elder being dead, now presided. Runaways and captives of Russian, Lithuanian, and German blood, who had endured all the hardships of slavery under the Nogays, strengthened the band. Of this the number at one time reached five hundred. It is never put higher. Implicit reliance cannot be put in the numbers to which they were opposed; but they are always put at thousands

sometimes at tens of thousands. On the other hand the Kosaks had fire-arms, which their enemies had not. Of sieges we expect but few; of small battles many. After several of these, of which three were conspicuous, the five hundred reached Isker. With a loss of one hundred and seven they took it. This won them their pardon from the Czar; their pardon with honours.

But the Tartar capital had to be held by three hundred and ninety-three men; and the three hundred and ninety-three men held it. They made raids upon the country around. In one of these, with fifty followers, Yermak reached the junction of the Vagai with the Irtish. The enemy had retreated before him. Under a hill, held sacred by the Tartars before him and doubly sacred ever since, the small detachment encamped. Though no enemy was visible they were watched. Without sentinels, and wearied with the toil of the day, they were attacked by night. All but two were killed, either in their sleep or surprised. One alone of these two escaped altogether. The other was not killed on the spot. He cut down the Tartars who clustered round him, reached the river, and was drowned in it.

Eight days afterwards, a Tartar chief of one of the tribes lower down was fishing, when he saw floating towards him the swollen body of an armed Kosak. It was that of Yermak. He dragged it ashore, and wondered to see the blood flow fresh from the wounds. He sent messages to the Tartar chiefs around, to Ediger, to Kandaul, to Petshineg, and to the great Khan Kutshyum, out of whose hands Yermak had wrested Isker. They all came to look on the dead body of the terrible warrior. It was kept in savage state for six weeks; during which time it was the daily practice of the Tartars who approached it to wheel round in circles and make it a mark for their arrows. It was pierced by hundreds of them. But at night, though left unguarded, neither beast nor bird of prey tore it. At length it was burnt to a sacrifice of ten sheep and thirty oxen.

Such is the history of Yermak; one which, although it has taken a poetical colouring, is, in all the essentials, a real one. The numbers are trustworthy, for the records of the several raids and battles seem to have been kept with almost official accuracy. The Stroganovs were traders and book-keepers. They owed to the Czar an account of what was done. The men were few, and the

value of every pair of hands was assessed. Neither in Mexico nor Peru was a conflict carried-on more successfully nor against greater odds. Of his companions, Kolzo after Yermak is the most prominent. They were all bold and enduring; but the name of Yermak both in history and tradition stands alone.

Yermak himself reached no further than the Irtish ; and, for a time after his death, the inroads of the Russians were arrested—only, however, for a time. The Tartars who had massacred the handful of brave men who constituted his army remained masters of the ground, until measures were taken for a permanent conquest; a conquest which, by the reign of Peter the Great, had subjected all Northern Asia to Russia; Kamtshatka being, at the time, reduced. Nevertheless, as a pioneer, and as a founder, Yermak deserves the title, so often attached to his name, of Conqueror of Siberia.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Age of the Russian Empire.—Spread of the Russians.—Importance of the Lithuanic Element.

THE celebration of the tenth centenary of the Russian Empire, is fresh in our memories. What the Czar said and left unsaid at Novogorod is known to even the cursory reader of the daily paper. He may not have remembered the details, but he knows that there was a great meeting at Novogorod; in which the Moscovite Empire was pronounced to be a thousand years old.

For the *Moscovite* Empire this may be true, but, if the objections of the preceding chapters be valid, the year 862 scarcely gives us the origin of the *Russian*.

Again, if the prominence which in those chapters is given to Kiev be reasonable, Novogorod was scarcely the proper place for the anniversary.

It is a matter, however, on which the opinion of an Englishman can hardly be deemed conclusive. But I may remark that a native author, to whom many of the *data* for the previous criticism are due, and whose exceptions to many of the current doctrines in Russian ethnology I readily endorse, is, in the matter of the date at least, at issue with the majority of his countrymen. In his chronological table, which, beginning with the notice of the Roxolani (who, ninety-four years *before* the Christian era, were at war with Mithridates Eupator), and ending on the strength of certain relations with Scandinavia (the illustration of which is the main object of the monograph), with 1634, Kunik makes, under the years 860 and 862, two special entries; the first to the effect that 862 was *not*, and the second to the effect that 860 *was* the year of the foundation of the Russian State. The difference, indeed, is slight; it is sufficient, however, to indicate a certain amount of obscurity connected with these early dates. The present writer

makes it inordinately great—so great, indeed, as to put aside the claims of Novogorod for being the early Russian metropolis altogether.

The fact is, that the amount of details for the interval between A.D. 860 and A.D. 980 depends upon the latitude allowed in the recognition of our authorities. If we limit ourselves to the notices that can be found in the cotemporary literature of Rome and Constantinople, we get little more than what has been given in our last chapter but one; and that this is little enough is evident. But with most writers, however, the restrictions thus implied are too strong; and numerous events are recorded on the testimony of the native annalists, especially the foremost of them, Nestor, the learned monk of Kiev. But Nestor wrote no earlier than 1120; none of his predecessors before 1020. Before 950, anything like a record is out of the question.

The same applies to the more far-fetched authorities from Denmark and Iceland. It is from Scandinavian notices that most of the details concerning Rurik and the Swedish dynasty of Novogorod are taken, and the earliest of these are long subsequent to the events which they pretend to record.

But, though inadequate to anything like the extreme form of the Scandinavian hypothesis and the minute details of the reigns of the early Russian sovereigns, the native accounts are apparently sufficient for what most concerns us here, viz. the general character, in the way of rate and direction, of the spread of the Russian nationality and language in its progress from south to north and from west to east. At any rate, they are sufficient to show that, before the accession of Vladimir I., the stream of conquest had spread from the Dnieper to the neighbourhood of Livonia and Estonia, to the Let and Fin districts, on the one side, and to the drainage of the Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland on the other—so early had the movement towards the present site of St. Petersburgh, Finland, and the southern limits of the Danish and Swedish areas, developed itself. The *exact* details of the conquered countries they fail to give. The mass was Fin. But, on the west, Lithuania and Finland (the word being taken in its more general sense) came in contact; the line of boundary being obscure, and probably irregular. This spread of the Russian name is what we now are about to sketch.

From A.D. 879 to 912.

That even the primeval Oleg had cut his way far enough to the north to have reduced Smolensko is one of the native statements, and it is a probable one. The men whom he conquered were the Krivitshi; who were either Fins or Lithuanians. At any rate, they lay on the Fin and Lithuanian frontier. Novogorod, *à fortiori*, had been reduced. Nor is it denied that certain powerful Swedes may have either been found there or have mixed themselves with the Slavonic intruders. What is denied is the priority of Novogorod to Kiev as a Russian centre, and the importance of the Swedish element.

A.D. 912 to 945.

Under Igor, there is a Derelevnian rebellion, implying a previous Derelevnian conquest. This is likely. The Derelevnian area lay between Smolensko and Kiev. The Derelevnians themselves were either Fins on a Lithuanian, or Lithuanians on a Fin, frontier. Their district was on the Desna. On the south, Igor conducted a war against the Petshenegs; a likely one also, inasmuch as the Petshenegs lay between the Dnieper and the Danube, and we have already seen that the Dnieper and the Black Sea were the way to Constantinople. Beside which, another Petsheneg war has already been noticed.

A.D. 945 to 972.

With Sviatoslav I., who was baptized, the possibility of true records begins; and under him we have Khazar, Bulgarian, and Petsheneg wars, as may be expected both from what has already been stated, and from the relations of the several districts with which their histories are connected to Constantinople.

A.D. 980 to 1015.

Then came civil wars and anarchy. Then Vladimir I., Vladimir Sviatoslavitsh, or Vladimir the Great; under whom Russia shows itself the same vast mass of territory which it is at the beginning of the sixteenth century; when the conquests of the two Khanats of Kazan and Astrakan notably extended its influence. About this time, too, we lose the names of those Fins of the Southern and Central Governments of whom no remains are at present in existence; especially that of the once formidable Viatitsh, who appeared in the reign of Sviatoslav. In every direction the arms of Vladimir encroached. He attacked Kherson in the south, the Bulgarians of the Kama in the east, the Yatshvings, who were

Lithuanians, and the Radimitshi, who may have been Poles, on the west. He had also a Croatian war.

But Vladimir married and gave in marriage as freely as he fought. His wife was Anna, a Byzantine princess. His sons married into the royal families of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

Above all, Vladimir conquered the greater part of Galicia, and gave his name to the eastern part of it—Lodomeria. The struggle with Poland had now begun. So had the struggle with Lithuania.

If we pause at the reign of Vladimir the Great, and make it, what it really is, one of the primary epochs in Russian history, we must not only consider what was Russian, but what was not. *Western* Galicia was not. Of Podolia and Volhynia the condition is obscure and doubtful. Grodno and Vilna were, probably, Lithuanic. They are so, to some extent, now—the latter to a great extent. Livonia and Kurland seem to have been untouched, Estonia but partially reduced. St. Petersburg was wholly Fin. On the east, Kazan and Astrakan were Khazar and Bulgarian being largely Turk at present. The Crimea was Byzantine more than aught else. The true nucleus, then, of the Russian power was Kiev, Pultava, Kharkov, Tshernigov, Orel, Kursk, Tula, Vladimir, Smolensko, and Novogorod—a vast area. But Novogorod was a fresh centre, from which Viatka, Perm, Olonets, and Arkangel, were to be reduced. The shores of the White Sea were touched long before those of either the Baltic or the Sea of Azov.

Conquest spreads on the side where the resistance is the least.* The verification of this is found nowhere better than in the early part of Russian history. In what is now the south of Russia, where barbarism and civilization came in contact, the stream of conquest began; and it rolled northwards, just in the parts which lay too far west for the civilization of Asia, and too far east for that of Europe. To the geographical relations of the vanquished Ugrians, rather than to any inferiority of what is called race, their reduction may be attributed.

The Russians of Central Russia are a mixture of Slavonians and

* This is so nearly a truism that I wonder at finding it put in the form of an axiom so recently as the present year, in Mr. Herbert Spencer's truly philosophic First Principles. Truism as it is, it is not creditable to historians that it has been so long without taking form, both as a generality and as an instrument of criticism.

Ugrians—in nothing but their language wholly Slavonic. Even the Russians of the original districts were not pure Slavonians. Before them, there were the aborigines of Southern Russia; probably Southern Ugrians and western prolongations of the populations to the north of Caucasus. There were the Scythians of the Herodotean Scythia. There were, possibly, some colonists from the Mithridatic armies. There were prolongations from the Dacian, Galician, and Lithuanic frontiers. There were the Germans of the Gothic and the Slavonians of the Vandal, part of the Gotho-Vandal invasion. There were the Turks of the Petsheneg, Khazar, and Kumanian divisions. The original Slavonic was, in all probability, introduced from the south of the Carpathians. Lastly, there was the Circassian element in the Turkish hordes; an element which the present writer puts high, though he may probably overvalue it. In the north, there was *some* Scandinavian intermixture; an intermixture perfectly compatible with the details concerning Rurik, Dir, and Askold being fabulous.

Between the time of Vladimir the Great and the Mongol invasion, the events, for the purpose of the present notice, differ in degree only from those already sketched. There was blood and anarchy; for the territories of the father were divided among, or quarrelled for by, the sons. We may pass them over, however, *sicco pede*.

In 1227 the great Mongol invasion took place. The construction of the empire of Temudzhin, or Tshingiz Khan, belongs to the obscure history of Mongolia, inextricably mixed-up with that of the Mantshús, Turks, and Ugrians of Central Asia. But its division and its break-up bear upon Russia. Temudzhin divided his empire between his four sons. The share of Dzhudzhi was the Kiptshak; *i.e.* roughly speaking, the parts between the Jaik and the Ural, or the Khanats of the Bulgarians and the Khazars. But Dzhudzhi died before his father, and his son Batúm succeeded him. In 1227, he overran Southern Russia, Galicia, Poland, penetrating as far as Silesia, where he was checked and turned back on the bloody field of Liegnitz, in Central Russia. He kept his gripe, however, on Russia. That the influence of his hordes has been overvalued has been already suggested. No notable remains of them are to be found. The same inference flows from the opposite view. The Kiptshak Empire was, by no means, per-

manent. Something, however, was effected by the conquest. It was a bloody one; in other words, it destroyed much of the indigenous population. It replaced it, to some unknown extent, by Tartar hordes; some Mongol, some Turk. Batúm, on his return, (I follow Erskine)—made a grant to his brother Sheibani of a large part of Russia, and lent him a number of Kuris and Kaslik hordes wherewith to hold it. These were Mongols. The Uighurs whom he also lent were Turks. The Naiman were, probably, Mongols who had Turcicized. The Nogays, who appear somewhat later, seem to have been of the same category. The Uzbeks, who also appear later (Uzbek, their chief, was converted to Mahometanism about A.D. 1320), were more decidedly Turk. Even if planted in the heart of a conquered country, a large army (to borrow an expression of Gibbon's) is but a small population.

The Russians recognized the Mongols as suzerains; and in the internal quarrels of Russia the Mongol Khan freely interfered. But with this their influence seems to have ended.

On the death of Uzbek Khan, the power of the Kiptshak declined; and it sank still lower in the time of Timur. In his reign two Khans disputed the succession, Toktamish and Urus Khan. Without laying undue stress on what is little more than a conjecture, I suggest the probability of *Urus* meaning *Russian*. It is, at any rate, a Mongol name for the Russians. If so, some of the native princes must have created an influence among the great vassals; indeed, a partial and approximate equality. Nevertheless, the only foundation for the doctrine is the name.

Timur supported Toktamish; but, afterwards, not only abandoned him, but raised up a third candidate, Timur-Kutluk, against him. But only to abandon him, in his turn, for the son of Urus Khan. From the anarchy that these movements suggest the Kiptshak never recovered. Out of its ruins arose the Khanats of Astrakan, Kazan, the Krimea, and Siberia or Tura; the present representatives of which last are the Turalintsi Tartars, fated hereafter to become Russianized.

The Krimea, however, underwent an intermediate modification. After being Byzantine, Gothic, and Genoese, it became, before it passed into the hands of Russia, Ottoman. This, however, is an anticipation.

Far more important than the Mongol conquests, though only partially concurrent with them, were the Lithuanic.

The only sovereign purely Lithuanic, rather than Lithuanic and Polish, who has hitherto been mentioned in any detail, is Mindog, the hero of the Yatshving period. He was, however, neither the first nor the last of his dynasty.

The reign of Ringold was nearly concurrent with that of Batú. How far he wielded the whole power of Lithuania is as difficult to ascertain as the real power of Ecbert and some of the early Anglo-Saxon kings. His power had, doubtless, risen at the expense of several minor princes, whose discontent was a source of weakness. The list, however, of the districts which he ruled is a long one, and, if we take it literally, spreads over a vast area. If Kurland were reduced by him he touched the Baltic, and, if Tshernigov were also reduced, he must have crossed the Dnieper. Indeed, all White Russia is assigned to him. Grodno, Minsk, and Vilna, were his most unequivocal possessions.

The great battle of Mohilna was won by Ringold over the Russians; another in Samogetia over the Teutonic knights.

Some of his conquests were given back to Russia by his successor, Mindog; that astute and faithless prince of whom we had occasion to speak when the Yatshvings were under notice; these being Vitepsk, Polotsk, and part of Smolensko. On the south he was limited by Poland, the Kumanians or Poloczy of Volhynia, and Galicia. That his sway was wide, is an inference not only from the territory assigned to his predecessor, but from his recorded victories.

Mindog, being murdered, was succeeded by his son Voyshelg. But the succession of Voyshelg was disputed by Dovmont, whose relations to Russia were of more importance than even Mindog's. Dovmont, defeated in Lithuania, betook himself to Pskov; which, whether Russian, Lithuanian, Fin, or a mixture of the three, received him, converted him to Christianity, and elected him Prince. His authority was supported by Novogorod.

Meanwhile, Voyshelg had contracted an alliance with the family of Daniel of Galicia; apparently by marrying his daughter to Shvano, Daniel's younger son. His appanage was Chelm and Halitsh. This, united with Lithuania, made him an object of hate

and dread to his elder brother Leo; by whose contrivance Voyshelg was murdered and the union of Lithuania and Galicia prevented. In this later principality Leo built Leopol, or Lemberg.

The succession in Lithuania is now obscure. Troid, however, was one of the successors of Voyshelg. But the date of the consolidation of the Lithuanic power, and the time when it became, in the eyes of the Russian historians, formidable to Russia, is the reign of Gedimin.

Gedimin was the cotemporary of Uzbek, under whose suzerainty the duchy of Moscow took its imperial pre-eminence. Founded a few years before by Daniel, the grand-dukedom descended to his son Ivan; whom Ivan invested with the principalities of Vladimir and Novogorod. In these lay the nucleus of Great, or Moscovite, as opposed to Little, Russia. In Moscow, too, lay the starting-point for the conquests which were effectively achieved by Ivan the Terrible in the East—in Kazan and Astrakan. Whether Gedimin or one of his successors reduced Kiev is uncertain.

Olgerd, a greater conqueror than any of his predecessors, succeeded to a divided inheritance. Of three of his brothers, one held Vilna, another Pinsk, a third, Kastuti, Troki. Of Olgerd's actions it is enough to say that the sack of Moscow was one of them. Nov. 21, 1368.

Of his successor, Yagellon, and of Swidrigal, his brother, notice has already been taken. It was Yagellon who united Lithuania with Poland. Under Poland, Vitolt, the son of Kastuti, held as a fief a large part of Lithuania—Vitepsk on the north, Podolia on the south. Vitolt, too, it was who reduced that part of Smolensk which had been restored by Mindog.

Though Lithuania is now united with Poland, we must carry the effects of the Lithuanian conquests farther; even until we come to the times out of which sprung the great Polish war under Bogdan. Without a notice of them the relations of the Kosaks and Little Russians to the rest of the empire are incomplete: incomplete also is the history of the exaltation of Moscow as the Russian metropolis over Kiev. It was the Lithuanians who reduced Little Russia, the Lithuanians before their union with Poland. This brought them in contact with the Krim

Tartars. We read of Lithuanian and Tartar alliances; of Lithuanian armies in the Krimean territory, and of Tartar armies in Lithuania.

Until the Frank conquest of the Eastern Empire, the metropolitan of Kiev was consecrated at Constantinople; afterwards at Nicæa; afterwards and again at Constantinople. The Lithuanic conquests completed what the Mongol had begun, and Russia was driven northwards; to Vladimir and to Moscow, the seats of the vassal grand-dukes. But the Mahometan conquest of Constantinople affected Little Russia ecclesiastically even more than either the Lithuanic or the Mongol. The Emperor and the Patriarch offered any price for the aid of the West, and, as far as they were concerned, the imperfect and temporary union of the Greek Church with the Latin was the result. An earthquake shook the city when the legation left Constantinople. The voyage to Venice was one of seventy days. As the vessel passed Gallipoli it was pelted with Turkish javelins. A little further it was forbidden to land and take water. A fleet of Catalan corsairs was barely escaped. Venice received the new converts magnificently: but at Ferrara, where the business of their embassy lay, their mortifications continued. The Patriarch was with difficulty allowed to kiss the Pope's hand instead of his foot. Everything humiliated him.

Meanwhile, foremost among the suffragans of the Patriarch of Constantinople was Isidore, Archbishop of Kiev. He consented that Russia should do what was done by the Greeks. A pestilence broke out at Ferrara, and it was the Russians that most especially suffered by it.

From Ferrara the bishops moved to Florence, where the impracticability of the union became more and more apparent. The legation would have melted away if it could; but the Bishop of Heraclea and Mark of Ephesus, who had attempted flight, had been brought back. At Florence the four great points of difference were mooted, and, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus, the Greeks were unduly submissive; none more than Isidore of Kiev. He it was who drew up the treaty in which the temporal elements, the material conditions of the union, were embodied; viz. means for returning to Constantinople, promises of soldiers

and the like. He it was who sold Russia for a promise in favour of Constantinople. He it was who, on his return, was resisted and repudiated for his anti-national work.

The means by which the Latin Church contrived to trespass on the domain have commanded our attention before. They command it here. They are always important. They imply Jesuit influence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; an opening for French intrigues now or any future time. They imply the old story of the Holy Places, or some equivalent pretext, when the anti-papal power is weak; a patient waiting for opportunities, when (like Russia) it is strong. They imply, even with Russia, the elements of a bargain with the Pope. At the time under notice all this went for little; but when Lithuania became the weaker vessel in the Polish union, and when Poland became Jesuit, it was pregnant with mischief.

As it was, the return of Isidore was the signal for an anti-patriarch; whilst, on the side of the Pope, it was followed by the institution of bishops *in partibus*. More than this, the glory of Kiev as the orthodox metropolis had been impaired. The spiritual authority had followed the temporal dignity.

With a Latin bishop at Kiev, Minsk became the seat of the Little Russian primacy; and the orthodox bishops, the voyvodes of Kiev, and the hetmans of the Kosaks, now became the chief actors in these agitated districts.

In 1569, the union between Poland and Lithuania, which under the first Jagellons was of the loosest, was drawn closer, and the three primary conditions on the part of the Little Russian provinces were:—

1. The integrity of the Lithuanic laws.
2. ——————— Russian language.
3. ——————— Greek creed.

Upon all these, however, encroachments were made; slight encroachments at first, a serious one after 1578. Then it was that Stephen Bathory, a brave soldier, and in some respects a good king, allowed a Jesuit college to be founded in Polotsk. The conflict that followed ended in the ruin of Poland.

That the southern part of the Lithuanian territory should revert to Russia was in every way an advantage. It was one block of Slavonism with a mere superaddition of Lithuanic

elements, which were, probably, more considerable than is generally believed. The only matter of regret is that two-thirds of Galicia were not made Russian also. Whether the same reasons apply to the northern districts is a different question. The Lithuanic element was in these primary and predominant; the Russian elements intrusive. Still they were Russian rather than aught else. It is difficult, however, to imagine the conditions under which the Lithuania of Ringold and Mindog could have been re-established. That the reclamation was effected by means of a hateful mixture of fraud and violence, in no way touches the question as to its results.

Had they been brought about by a revolution, Poland would have had no sympathy; and of all hallucinations the wildest is that which sees the probability of a renovated Poland with its old, indefinite, and indeterminable frontiers; except so far as it may be effected by the spontaneous exertions of its old members to become Polish. The earnest wish on the part of Poland to get them back is quite another question. He must, however, be a very sanguine speculator who expects the two desires to coincide; however much, in his jealousy of the power of Russia, he may desire them to do so.

It is but a light shade, however, that this takes-off from the indelible stain which lies on the otherwise bad names of Frederic and Catherine, and the better one of Maria Theresa. The systematic craft by which Catherine encouraged the dissensions of Poland, (which she forbade to be reconciled when a chance of their being reconciled appeared,) is the one point which makes her policy worse than Frederic's. To foster abuses and then interfere with the reform of them was her vile statecraft. However, the attempt to measure the respective degrees of criminality among the triumvirate is scarcely worth the research it involves. As maintainers of the balance of power, as conservators of political morality, it may have become the other European Powers to interfere. On any other ground, however, it was right and wise to acquiesce.

One phenomenon connected with the First Partition, not less strange than discreditable, is the admiration which was heaped upon Catherine by men from whom, as philosophers and demagogues, something different, if not something better, was to be

expected—men like Voltaire and Fox, the latter being, apparently, sincere. That Frederic has been extolled is less surprising. His fortitude and ability bear so fair a proportion to his unscrupulousness and his cynicism, that, where there is a tendency to hero-worship, they warp the judgment.

The break-up of the power of Napoleon was the break-up of Poland and Saxony; the end of the Restoration; partial and incomplete as that Restoration was. That its partial and incomplete character is not to be imputed in terms of unmitigated blame to the conqueror at Jena has already been suggested. He may, or may not, have done less than his promises implied. The promises, however, if ever made, of a full reconstitution of the old Empire of Poland with its original limits, were simply absurdities. If ever made in direct, definite, and explicit manner, they involve impossible conditions which should, in the eyes of reasonable men, have reduced them to a mere figure of speech. That the Poles were other than reasonable in their expectations we have seen. They were then what the Magyars are now. They were then what the Americans are now. They were then, what, in all probability, the countrymen of the present writer, along with the writer himself, would be under similar circumstances. When hope is excited, or when national vanity is touched, the common-sense of nations lies in abeyance—the common-sense of even the coolest individuals that constitute them. It ought not to be so; but so it is: and the fact is one which we must take as it is found.

What Napoleon did for Poland, when he united the Grand Duchy of Warsaw with the Electorate of Saxony is a matter of plain and patent history, done in the face of day, and before the eyes of the whole world. There may be two opinions as to whether he did enough. There is only one as to the fact of his having done something. What took place in the interview at Tilsit, between Napoleon and the Czar, is neither certain nor clear. It may, or may not, be a fact at all. Historians, however, treat it with their usual boldness: and repeat after each other that Napoleon, in spite of all his promises to Poland, in spite of his relations to the Elector of Saxony, in spite of his sympathies, and (still more) in spite of his true policy, when he planned with Alexander, what is described as little less than a practical

partition of the whole of the Old World between France and Russia, engaged that either Poland should be made over to the Czar, or that the Czar should be free to conquer it. In such a compact as this there is as much genuine faithlessness as the bitterest vituperator of the first Napoleon need desire.

Nor will his greatest admirers insist that he was incapable of entertaining it. Likely enough, too, it is that Alexander would propose it. What, however, is the *evidence?* for it is upon testimony, and not upon presumptions, that the facts of history must find their basis. *Quid Jupiter in aure Junonis locutus est* is always known—to old women and to historians most especially; *lippis et tonsoribus.* Yet how do they know it? The likelier a thing is to have happened, the likelier it is to be invented. The Tilsit compact about Poland may or may not have been real. If real, it was bad. The question, however, of its reality, appertains to the biography of Napoleon rather than to such a sketch of the history of Poland as is here attempted.

That the Czar meant to annex Poland was one of the points of the Vienna Conference, which stood out in clear and painful prominence: and equally clear and equally prominent was the fact that his power was equal to his will. However, with the Conference of Vienna our present notice of Poland and Lithuania must terminate. The history of Poland, like its soil, is divided, and till both Austria and Prussia have been considered, the completion of our sketch of Poland must stand over.

Still less do the foregoing limitations upon the illegitimate pretensions of Poland preclude the recognition of her just claims.

As the rebellion under Bogdan belongs to Polish, and that under Pugatshef to Russian, history, each illustrates a particular phase of Kosak life. Neither Russia, however, nor Poland, nor even the two combined, give us all the elements of the Kosak character. That nearly the whole of the Kosak country was Polish before it was Russian is true. Scarcely any part, however, was a true Polish possession from the beginning. The conquerors of Little Russia were the Lithuanians; and it was only as a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that Little Russia became Polish. Notwithstanding this, the mutilation which made it Russian was felt as a mutilation of Poland rather than of Lithuania. The greater susceptibility of the Polish temper and

the great strength of the anti-Russian feeling in Poland only partially account for this. Though the Little Russians are by no means so different from the Moscovites as many of our political ethnologists make them, and though, in spite of many strong assertions to the contrary, they are far less Polish than Moscovite, they are much more Polish than Lithuanic; and this they were before the Lithuanian conquest. Besides this, since its union with Poland, Lithuania has scarcely had a history.

More light, however, will spread itself over the history of the Kosaks as the details of Little Russia come under notice; for, though the original Kosak country and Little Russia are not wholly and exactly co-extensive, they are sufficiently so for any general view.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

All The Russias.—Little Russia.—White Russia.—Black Russia.—Red Russia.—Great Russia.—Tables.

THE Czar is less the Emperor of Russia than the Emperor of All The Russias; Russia, pure and simple, being often interpreted to mean only Moscovy; or the original domain of the Dukes of Moscow. The real Russian metropolis is Kiev.

Turning away, however, from the heraldic aspect of the question, I limit myself to the more definite facts connected with the geography and statistics of the five Russias; viz. (1) Little, (2) White, (3) Black, (4) Red, and (5) Great.

(1.) *Little Russia* is south-western Russia; the Russia of Kiev, the Russia of the Kosaks.

*Little Russians.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Poltava . . . | 1,790,000 | In Koursk . . . | 300,000 |
| — Kiev . . . . | 1,640,000 | — Tauris . . . | 200 |
| — Kharkov . . . | 1,500,000 | — Bessarabia . . | 150 |
| — Tshernigov . . | 1,300,000 | — Orel . . . . | 150 |
| — Podolia . . . | 1,250,000 | — Don Kosaks . | 80 |
| — Volhynia . . | 1,120,000 | — Samar . . . | 50 |
| — Ekaterinoslav . | 880,000 | — Mohilev . . . | 40 |
| — Voronezh . . | 600,000 | | |
| | | Total | 10,380,670 |

To which add those of Poland and Galicia.

(2.) By tracing either the Duna southwards, or the Dnieper northwards, we come to the watershed between the drainage of the Baltic and the drainage of the Black Sea; and, if we are seeking for that part of Russia where the conditions that favour civilization are at their *minimum*, this is one of the spots to which our presumptions would lead us. In a district which, without being mountainous, is, from the nature of its water-system, almost as

inaccessible as a true mountain-district, but without the conditions for independence which an impracticable hill-range supplies, on the frontier of what were once Let, Lithuanian, and Fin districts, with a population which run every chance of oppression, double-tribute, and doubtful allegiance is the likely occupant.

This is the centre of *White Russia*, its occupants being the Bieloruss of the official chorographers. In Mohilev the characteristics are the most decided; and they are those of a broken and weak population—of a purely agricultural class on the farms of landlords of Polish blood and to a great extent absentees. With little stimulus to exertion, they are charged with idleness and improvidence; and, as the third class in their district consists of Jews, their poverty and discomfort is extreme. Here it is where the *plica Polonica* is more especially endemic, and where the few travellers who visit the Government find the Russian analogue to the worst parts of Ireland in its worst times. In Vitepsk and Pskov the character improves. Numbered according to the ground they cover the White Russians amount to about 3,000,000, but, if we eliminate from these the Roman Catholics, who, on the strength of their creed, may be considered as Russianized Poles, it is only 2,850,000. The ethnographical map, however, treats them all as Russians; in other words, few Poles, Lithuanians, and Lets, are assigned to any of the White Russian Governments, except Pskov and Vitepsk; and here we have on the Livonian, Courland, and Vilna frontiers, some Fins and Lets in continuity with the Let and Fin areas. The complement to the White Russians are the numerous Jews and Gipsies.

All Mohilev is Bieloruss; the other White Russians being parts of Smolensko, Minsk, Tshegnigov, Orel, Vitepsk, and Pskov. The White Russian districts were the first territories obtained at the expense of Poland; having been Lithuanic before they were Polish, and, probably, Fin before they were Lithuanic. Their Polono-Lithuanic character is for the western portion of them, a matter of recent history: their Fin character one of inference.

(3.) *Black Russia* is a more uncommon name than the others. A distinction, however, is drawn between the true Bieloruss and the Russín. Black Russia means that part of Minsk which lies to the west and north of Dneiper and Berezina; and, as this comprises

the largest part of the Government, Minsk may be looked upon as the Russín centre. To the area thus circumscribed add that part of Grodno which is not Lithuanic.

As Grodno, at the present time, contains a fragment of the Lithuanians, with the definite characteristics of name and language, we may fairly call the western half of the Russíns Russianized Lithuanians. Of Minsk the early ethnology is more obscure. Both Governments were, until the mutilation, Polono-Lithuanic, *i. e.* Lithuanic under their native princes, but Polish after the union under the Yagellons.

(4.) *Red Russia* is Lodomeria, a name rarely seen on the Austrian maps, but one which means the country brought under the subjection of Russia by Vladimir. More will be said about it when Austria comes under notice. At present it is enough to say that Red Russia is one of the Russias, and that it is truly Russian. It is, indeed, the one solitary spot where Russian nationality, elsewhere and otherwise so formidably powerful, is an alien, with its language despised, and other grievances.

Without going far into the minutiæ of these Blacks and Whites, it is easy to see that Little Russia is the Kosak country; that Red Russia is Galicia; and that the others are those parts of the present empire which were more prominently Lithuanian.

(5.) Everything in Russia that is not Little, Black, White, or Red, is *Great* Russian; the Great Russians or Moscovites forming the bulk of the population; a population which is pre-eminently homogeneous. The following tables give us its distributions—(1.) in respect to its actual amount; (2.) in its relation to the geographical area; (3 and 4.) in the extent to which it is urban or rural.

Of the urban population all that need be said is, that it is somewhat more mixed, more enlightened, and more free than the rural.

Of the Non-russian elements only those on the Polish frontier are noticed. They are the only ones which have much political importance. The Ugrians and Turks belong to Asia rather than Western Europe. Of these, the Bashkirs are the most important; but the tables show how largely Orenburg, the chief Bashkir area, is Russian.

| | Population in 1846. | Geographical Square Miles. | Inhabitants to the Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Orenburg | 1,948,500 | 6,773 | 288 |
| 2. Poltava | 1,783,800 | 897 | 1,989 |
| 3. Tambov | 1,750,900 | 1,202 | 1,450 |
| 4. Saratov | 1,718,600 | 3,525 | 487 |
| 5. Podolia | 1,703,000 | 774 | 2,204 |
| 6. Kursk | 1,680,000 | 818 | 2,052 |
| 7. Viatka | 1,662,800 | 2,500 | 665 |
| 8. Voronezh | 1,657,900 | 1,209 | 1,371 |
| 9. Perm | 1,637,700 | 6,073 | 270 |
| 10. Kiev | 1,605,800 | 914 | 1,757 |
| 11. Orel | 1,502,900 | 859 | 1,750 |
| 12. Kharkov | 1,467,400 | 985 | 1,490 |
| 13. Volhynia | 1,445,500 | 1,295 | 1,115 |
| 14. Tschernigov | 1,430,000 | 1,000 | 1,430 |
| 15. Moscow | 1,374,700 | 589 | 2,323 |
| 16. Riazan | 1,365,900 | 766 | 1,782 |
| 17. Kazan | 1,342,900 | 1,128 | 1,190 |
| 18. Tver | 1,327,700 | 1,223 | 1,085 |
| 19. Simbirsk | 1,318,900 | 1,315 | 1,003 |
| 20. Vladimir | 1,246,500 | 862 | 1,416 |
| 21. Tula | 1,227,000 | 555 | 2,211 |
| 22. Nizhni-Novogorod | 1,178,200 | 877 | 1,343 |
| 23. Smolensko | 1,170,600 | 1,019 | 1,148 |
| 24. Penza | 1,087,200 | 690 | 1,575 |
| 25. Kostroma | 1,054,600 | 1,496 | 705 |
| 26. Minsk | 1,046,400 | 1,622 | 345 |
| 27. Yaroslav | 1,008,100 | 660 | 1,527 |
| 28. Kaluga | 1,006,400 | 573 | 1,755 |
| 29. Saint Petersburgh | 974,500 | 970 | 1,002 |
| 30. Mohilev | 931,300 | 885 | 1,052 |
| 31. Kovno | 915,500 | 758 | 1,208 |
| 32. Novogorod | 907,900 | 2,213 | 410 |
| 33. Grodno | 907,100 | 693 | 1,310 |
| 34. Ekatherinoslav | 870,100 | 1,206 | 721 |
| 35. Vilna | 863,700 | 768 | 1,125 |
| 36. Kherson | 842,400 | 1,332 | 632 |
| 37. Vologda | 822,200 | 6,967 | 118 |
| 38. Livonia | 814,100 | 853 | 954 |
| 39. Bessarabia | 792,000 | 858 | 923 |
| 40. Vitepsk | 789,500 | 810 | 974 |
| 41. Pskov | 775,800 | 809 | 959 |
| 42. Don Kosaks | 704,300 | 2,943 | 239 |
| 43. Tauris | 572,200 | 1,163 | 492 |
| 44. Kurland | 553,300 | 496 | 1,116 |
| 45. Stavropol | 526,400 | 2,650 | 199 |
| 46. Estonia | 310,400 | 376 | 825 |
| 47. Astrakan | 284,400 | 2,860 | 99 |
| 48. Olonets | 263,100 | 2,784 | 95 |
| 49. Arkangel | 253,000 | 12,000 | 21 |

| | Inhabitants to the Square Mile. | | Inhabitants to the Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Moscow | 2525 | 4. Kursk | 2052 |
| 2. Tula | 2211 | 5. Poltava | 1989 |
| 3. Podolia | 2201 | 6. Riazan | 1782 |

| | Inhabitants to the Square Mile. |
|---|---|
| 7. Kiev | 1757 |
| 8. Kaluga | 1755 |
| 9. Orel | 1750 |
| 10. Penza | 1575 |
| 11. Yaroslav | 1527 |
| 12. Kharkov | 1490 |
| 13. Tambov | 1456 |
| 14. Vladimir | 1446 |
| 15. Tschernigov | 1430 |
| 16. Voronezh | 1371 |
| 17. Nizhni-Novogorod | 1343 |
| 18. Grodno | 1310 |
| 19. Kovno | 1208 |
| 20. Kazan | 1190 |
| 21. Smolensko | 1148 |
| 22. Vilna | 1125 |
| 23. Kurland | 1116 |
| 24. Volhynia | 1115 |
| 25. Tver | 1085 |
| 26. Mohilev | 1052 |
| 27. Simbirsk | 1003 |
| 28. Saint Petersburg | 1002 |
| 29. Livonia | 978 |
| 30. Vitepsk | 974 |
| 31. Pskov | 967 |
| 32. Bessarabia | 923 |
| 33. Estonia | 828 |
| 34. Ekatherinoslav | 721 |
| 35. Kostroma | 705 |
| 36. Viatka | 665 |
| 37. Minsk | 645 |
| 38. Kherson | 632 |
| 39. Tauris | 492 |
| 40. Saratov | 487 |
| 41. Novogorod | 410 |
| 42. Orenburg | 288 |
| 43. Perm | 270 |
| 44. Don Kosaks | 239 |
| 45. Stavropol | 199 |
| 46. Vologda | 118 |
| 47. Astrakan | 99 |
| 48. Olonets | 95 |
| 49. Arkangel | 21 |

## *Out of every* 1000 *Inhabitants.*

| Government of | Inhabitants of Towns. |
|---|---|
| 1. Saint Petersburg | 595 |
| 2. Moscow | 298 |
| 3. Tauris | 223 |
| 4. Astrakan | 191 |
| 5. Bessarabia | 178 |
| 6. Kherson | 171 |
| 7. Ekatherinoslav | 128 |
| 8. Livonia | 117 |
| 9. Grodno | 106 |
| 10. Kurland | 99 |
| 11. Kiev | 97 |
| 12. Kharkov | 91 |
| 13. Vitepsk | 84 |
| 14. Tschernigov | 81 |
| 15. Orel | 80 |
| 16. Kaluga | 79 |
| 17. Saratov | 78 |
| 18. Volhynia | 76 |
| 19. Penza | 76 |
| 20. Stavropol | 76 |
| 21. Tula | 75 |
| 22. Yaroslav | 75 |
| 23. Arkangel | 75 |
| 24. Vilna | 71 |
| 25. Poltava | 69 |
| 26. Kazan | 69 |
| 27. Simbirsk | 67 |
| 28. Minsk | 66 |
| 29. Mohilev | 66 |
| 30. Estonia | 65 |
| 31. Tver | 63 |
| 32. Nizhni Novogorod | 60 |
| 33. Olonetz | 60 |
| 34. Kursk | 56 |
| 35. Tambov | 55 |
| 36. Voronezh | 50 |
| 37. Podolia | 49 |
| 38. Kovno | 49 |
| 39. Pskov | 49 |
| 40. Riazan | 48 |
| 41. Vologda | 48 |
| 42. Smolensko | 47 |
| 43. Vladimir | 45 |
| 44. Kostroma | 44 |
| 45. Perm | 40 |
| 46. Novogorod | 38 |
| 47. Orenburg | 27 |
| 48. Don Kosaks | 37 |
| 49. Viatka | 21 |

| Governments, in the order of their Urban Population. | Urban population in 1850. | Total population in 1850. | Area of the Government in Square Miles. | Number of Towns. | Square Miles for every Town. | Percentage of the Urban Population. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saint Petersburg | 589,500 | 991,000 | 970 | 13 | 75 | 59·5 |
| Moscow | 418,000 | 1,402,000 | 589 | 15 | 39 | 29·8 |
| Kiev | 159,000 | 1,638,000 | 914 | 12 | 76⅔ | 9·7 |
| Kherson | 147,000 | 859,000 | 1,332 | 12 | 111 | 17·1 |
| Bessarabia | 144,000 | 808,000 | 858 | 12 | 71½ | 17·8 |
| Saratov | 137,000 | 1,753,000 | 3,525 | 14 | 252 | 7·8 |
| Kharkov | 136,000 | 1,497,000 | 985 | 16 | 61½ | 9·1 |
| Tauris | 130,000 | 584,000 | 1,163 | 15 | 77½ | 22·3 |
| Orel | 130,000 | 1,533,000 | 859 | 13 | 71½ | 8·0 |
| Poltava | 125,000 | 1,819,500 | 897 | 17 | 53 | 6·9 |
| Tshernigov | 119,000 | 1,459,000 | 1,000 | 19 | 53 | 8·1 |
| Ekatherinoslav | 113,600 | 887,500 | 1,206 | 13 | 93 | 12·8 |
| Volhynia | 112,000 | 1,474,000 | 1,295 | 12 | 108 | 7·6 |
| Grodno | 98,300 | 925,000 | 693 | 25 | 27¾ | 10·6 |
| Tambov | 97,800 | 1,786,000 | 1,202 | 12 | 100 | 5·5 |
| Livonia | 97,100 | 830,000 | 853 | 12 | 71 | 11·7 |
| Kursk | 95,600 | 1,714,000 | 818 | 18 | 45½ | 5·6 |
| Kazan | 93,900 | 1,370,000 | 1,128 | 13 | 87 | 6·9 |
| Tula | 91,600 | 1,251,500 | 555 | 12 | 46 | 7·5 |
| Simbirsk | 90,200 | 1,345,000 | 1,315 | 13 | 101 | 6·7 |
| Podolia | 85,400 | 1,737,000 | 774 | 14 | 55 | 4·9 |
| Tver | 85,100 | 1,354,000 | 1,223 | 13 | 94 | 6·3 |
| Penza | 84,100 | 1,109,000 | 690 | 13 | 53 | 7·6 |
| Voronezh | 83,800 | 1,691,000 | 1,209 | 14 | 93 | 5·0 |
| Kaluga | 81,300 | 1,026,500 | 573 | 14 | 41 | 7·9 |
| Yaroslav | 77,100 | 1,028,000 | 660 | 11 | 60 | 7·5 |
| Orenburg | 73,500 | 1,987,000 | 6,773 | 17 | 398 | 3·7 |
| Nizhni Novogorod | 72,000 | 1,202,000 | 877 | 13 | 67½ | 6·0 |
| Minsk | 70,800 | 1,067,000 | 1,622 | 11 | 147½ | 6·6 |
| Riazan | 67,500 | 1,393,000 | 766 | 12 | 64 | 4·8 |
| Vitepsk | 67,300 | 805,000 | 810 | 12 | 67½ | 8·4 |
| Perm | 66,100 | 1,670,500 | 6,073 | 16 | 370 | 4·0 |
| Vilna | 63,600 | 898,000 | 768 | 9 | 85⅓ | 7·1 |
| Mohilev | 62,400 | 950,000 | 885 | 12 | 74 | 6·6 |
| Vladimir | 57,500 | 1,271,000 | 862 | 15 | 57½ | 4·5 |
| Smolensko | 56,100 | 1,194,000 | 1,019 | 12 | 85 | 4·7 |
| Kurland | 56,000 | 564,000 | 496 | 11 | 45 | 9·9 |
| Astrakan | 55,500 | 290,000 | 2,860 | 4 | 715 | 19·1 |
| Kostroma | 47,500 | 1,076,000 | 1,496 | 20 | 75 | 4·4 |
| Kovno | 46,600 | 952,000 | 758 | 10 | 76 | 4·9 |
| Stauropol | 40,900 | 537,000 | 2,650 | 7 | 373 | 7·6 |
| Vologda | 40,300 | 839,000 | 6,967 | 13 | 536 | 4·8 |
| Pskov | 39,000 | 791,000 | 809 | 11 | 73½ | 4·9 |
| Viatka | 36,000 | 1,696,000 | 2,500 | 13 | 192 | 2·1 |
| Novogorod | 34,800 | 926,000 | 2,213 | 11 | 201 | 3·8 |
| Estonia | 20,600 | 317,000 | 376 | 5 | 75 | 6·5 |
| Arkangel | 19,400 | 258,000 | 12,000 | 8 | 1,500 | 7·5 |
| Don Kosaks | 19,100 | 718,000 | 2,943 | 1 | 2,943 | 2·7 |
| Olonets | 16,200 | 268,000 | 2,784 | 7 | 398 | 6·0 |
| Total | 5,328,400 | 62,088,000 | | 733 | | |

The following tables give us the distribution of the Non-russian elements in Western Russia, *i. e.* the Russia of the Polono-Lithuanic frontier:—

Vitepsk, in population 42nd, in density 32nd. Nos. 789,500, with 84 in 1000 urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Lets | 142,497 |
| Jews | 47,649 |
| Estonians | 9,936 |

Vilna, in order of population 37th, in density 23rd, in number 863,700, with 74 in 1000 urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Lithuanians | 138,320 |

Kovno, in order of population 33rd, in density 20th, in population 945,500, with 49 in 1000 urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Lithuanians | 568,794 |
| Jews | 82,664 |
| Lets | 6,341 |

Grodno, in order of population 35th, in density 19th, in population 907,400, of which 106 in 1000 are urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews | 99,592 |
| Poles | 82,689 |
| Germans | 5,355 |
| Lithuanians | 2,338 |

Volhynia, in order of population 15th, in density 25th, in population 1,445,500, with 76 in 1000 urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews | 195,000 |
| Poles | 150,000 |
| Germans | 4,000 |

Podolia, in order of population 6th, in density 3rd, in population 1,703,000, whereof 49 in 1000 is urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews | 150,000 |
| Poles | 100,000 |
| Rumanyos | 7,429 |
| Germans | 1,126 |

Kiev, in order of population 11th, in density 8th, with . . . . whereof ninety-seven in one thousand is urban, has

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews . . . | 103,326 |
| Poles . . . | 100,000 |
| Germans . . | 1,200 |

To these Governments which have been noticed as those wherein the Non-russian element is of sufficient magnitude to command the attention of the politicians, we may add Bessarabia and the Crimea; the former being Rumanyo, the latter Tartar. In Bessarabia the feeling is Moldavian or Valachian; in Tauris, so far as it is Tartar and Mahometan, it is Ottoman. Of the Baltic Provinces nothing is said: being German, Let, and Fin, they are nothing definite. Nor yet is anything said concerning the Government of the far east; the occupancies of the Zirainians, the Permeans, the Votiaks, the Tsherimis, the Mordvins, the Tshuvashes, the Bashkirs, and the Tartars in general. In all these the Ugrian element is weak. In none of them is even the Tartar element strong—strong so as to be formidable. In Kazan, where the Turk civilization is the highest, the Turk population is less than a fourth of the whole. By adding to it the Tshavash, we raise the Non-russian element of that Government to about half.

Orenburg is the chief occupancy of the Bashkirs; of all the Tartar soldiers the most formidable and the most prone to insubordination. Yet in Orenburg, the Bashkirs are in a minority; the decided majority being not only Russian but Kosak.

In Kovno the *Lithuanians* constitute the majority; in Estonia the *Fins*. But there are exceptions. The general rule is that in most of the Governments, the Russians are more numerous than all the Non-russians put together, and in all of them except Curland and Livonia, more numerous than any single division of them. In Poltava, Kursk, Voronezh, Orel, Kharkhov, Tshernigov, Moscow, Riazan, Vladimir, Tula, Kaluga, in each of which the population exceeds a million, it is, with the exception of the German and Gipsies, purely and exclusively Russian; Russian with a *minimum* variation of dialect; Russian with a *minimum* amount of religious dissent.

Hence, with all its heterogeneousness of element, Russia is, for all political purposes, except its frontiers, homogeneous. It is Russian to the extent of nearly seventy million Russians.

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